THE LIVES OF SAINT GREGORY

The Armenian, Greek, Arabic, and Syriac Versions of the *History* Attributed to Agathangelos

TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

by

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To JUDITH

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Preface

The title to this volume has a double intention. The first, the obvious literal meaning, is that there exist written texts in several languages which give differing versions of the life and work of Saint Gregory the Illuminator. The Armenian version is best known as the *History of Armenia* composed by a certain "Agathangelos;" in addition there exist significant versions in Greek, Arabic and Syriac, with secondary versions in other languages. In this book English translations are offered of the Armenian as it has come down to us, and of the important versions in Greek, Arabic and Syriac. The latter are presented section by section after the Armenian, so that the reader can easily see that they often contain material different from the Armenian, or that they tell a similar story in another fashion. Thus, in another sense, various "lives" can be attributed to Saint Gregory reflecting traditions about him that are not included in the surviving Armenian *History*. Furthermore, Armenian writers after the time of Agathangelos impart new information about Saint Gregory and the conversion of Armenia. The stories concerning his life and work were not fixed from the beginning. These changes in the story of Gregory as reflected in Armenian sources will be considered in the Introduction. They point to a certain flux in the tradition, generally in the direction of a progressive desire to see Gregory as the source of the specific individuality of Armenian Christianity.

"Agathangelos" is the name taken by the unknown author of this *History of Armenia* that describes that country's conversion to Christianity in the time of king Trdat, at the turn of the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era. "Author," however, is a misleading term; "editor" might be more appropriate, since the *History* is based on a number of traditions brought together to form a more or less coherent whole. If there were earlier written forms of the story, they have not survived as such. The Armenian text, in which the leading role is played by saint Gregory, known as the "Illuminator," *lusaworič‘* in Armenian, rapidly became the standard account of the origin of the Armenian church, even though other traditions refer to earlier missionaries in

Armenia. Unlike Gregory, however, those missionaries did not establish a lasting ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The Armenian *History* attributed to Agathangelos is well known. There have been numerous editions since the first printing at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it has been translated into several modern languages. What is much less known is that the existing Armenian text is not the only version of events involving Gregory and the conversion of Armenia. Within Armenia itself the *History* of Agathangelos dominated the scene. But variations on the account found there have survived in translations from lost Armenian texts. Although the evidence from these texts has been studied in scholarly circles, not least with regard to the date of Gregory's consecration as first bishop of Armenia, the texts themselves are not all easily accessible and have never been translated into English.

Here I attempt to make this evidence available to a wider audience. The variant recensions are presented in direct translation from the Greek, Arabic and Syriac, placed below a revised version of my earlier translation of the Armenian. In the Introduction I highlight developments within Armenia regarding traditions about Saint Gregory and his teaching. Although no new dramatic discoveries will be offered to specialists, I trust that this book will appeal to a broad readership interested in the history of Eastern Christianity generally, as well as Armenia in particular. The conversion of Armenia was not an isolated event, but a turning point in the history of a country located between the Roman and Iranian empires of late antiquity. Gregory the Illuminator became a hero commemorated in the church calendars of east and west. Here the larger picture will show not only a local transformation within Armenia, but also contacts between Armenia and the Roman empire, the Caucasus, and Sasanian Iran.

I first suggested this project at a conference summoned in 1996 by the late Catholicos Karekin I [Sarkissian] to consider ways to celebrate the 1700th anniversary of Armenian Christianity. Some of the proposals discussed at that gathering in Paris came to prompt fruition, others took longer. In the present case I have only been able to concentrate on the variants to the Armenian over the last few years. I must acknowledge the encouragement of Abraham Terian. Furthermore, I have profited from conversations with colleagues in the Oriental Institute, especially concerning the translations, and I have also taken advantage of comments by participants at various conferences where Agathangelos

was discussed. Responsibility for what follows, however, is mine alone. I am grateful to Robert Hewsen for the map used in my translations of Moses Khorenats'i and *The Lives of Saint Gregory.*

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Chapter Headings

The Armenian text of the *History* of Agathangelos is referred to throughout as *Aa*. This I have divided into 18 chapters; the paragraph numbers are those of the critical edition of 1909.

I.	1-17.	Prologue; Agathangelos introduces himself
II.	[not in *Aa*]	The Romance of Artavan and Artašir [Greek only]
III.	18-36.	Xosrov's wars against the Sasanian Persians and his death
IV.	37-47.	Trdat's exile in the Roman empire and his restoration
V.	48-122.	Gregory's tortures for refusing to worship pagan gods
VI.	123-136.	Trdat's martial prowess and his edicts against Christians
VII.	137-210.	The martyrdoms of Rhipsime, Gaiane and their companions
VIII.	211-225.	Trdat's punishment and the rescue of Gregory from the pit
IX.	226-730.	Gregory's instruction concerning the Christian faith
X.	731-756.	Gregory's vision regarding the holy sites
XI.	757-776.	Chapels are built for the martyrs and the people are cured
XII.	777-790.	The pagan shrines are overthrown
XIII.	791-808.	Gregory is consecrated bishop for Armenia at Caesarea
XIV.	809-836.	Gregory builds churches and baptises the king and people
XV.	837-858.	Gregory's missionary activities in Armenia and the Caucasus
XVI.	859-866.	Gregory's sons are brought to Armenia
XVII.	867-883.	Gregory and Trdat visit Constantine in Rome
XVIII.	884-900.	The Council of Nicaea and Gregory's last days; Epilogue

Presentation of the Texts

In each paragraph of the 18 chapters the Armenian text is given first in **bold type**. Immediately below come any biblical references, which are marked in the text with an asterisk (*), and then the notes, which are marked in the text with an obelisk (†). Footnotes at the bottom of each page give variants to the Armenian text found in the direct Greek translation known as *Ag*. This has not been translated in full, because the variants are generally minor, but not always insignificant.

The narratives in the Greek, Arabic, and Syriac versions are known as the *V* recension, as opposed to the *A* recension of the Armenian [*Aa*] and its direct Greek translation [*Ag*]. Sometimes the *V* recension texts follow the order of events in the Armenian *History* of Agathangelos, and sometimes they diverge quite considerably. Where the versions keep the order of the Armenian, the translations of the texts are placed below the Armenian, paragraph by paragraph, in *italic type*. The resulting lay-out looks like this:

Armenian text in bold
* Biblical references
† Historical and philological notes
Translation of any corresponding Greek, Arabic, or Syriac text

When the versions in Greek, Arabic, or Syriac offer a different order of events, or introduce substantial changes, these have been printed at the end of each chapter. This means that the reader can follow the narrative in each version without its internal coherence being overly disturbed.

The fact that the Armenian is printed in bold does **NOT** mean that it is the original of which the versions are translations. The versions derive from Armenian traditions that did not survive in written form in Armenian, but are known only from these translations. The versions may have been embellished later, or adapted to different historical circumstances in other countries. Within Armenia itself, however, the *History* of Agathangelos, more or less in the form now known, came to dominate the scene to the exclusion of traditions now known through versions in Greek, Arabic, Syriac, and other languages as well.

Transcription

Since the texts translated and studied below are written in a variety of scripts, it would be difficult to transcribe everything in a rigorous fashion without recourse to numerous diacritical marks. On the other hand, this book is designed to be easy to use for the general reader. I have therefore resorted to a "double tier" arrangement. In the translations well-known names are given in their usual English format: Agathangelos, Gregory, Constantine, etc. Lesser known names and all Armenian words in the notes are transcribed according to the system of the *Revue des études arméniennes*, as follows:

ա	բ	գ	դ	ե	զ	է	ը	թ	ժ	ի	լ	խ	ծ	կ
a	b	g	d	e	z	ē	ě	t'	ž	i	l	x	c	k
հ	ձ	ղ	ճ	մ	յ	ն	շ	ո	չ	պ	ջ	ռ	ս	տ
h	j	ł	č	m	y	n	š	o	č'	p	ǰ	ṙ	s	t
ր	ց	վ	ւ	փ	ք	օ	ու							
r	c'	v	w	p'	k'	ō	u							

Arabic is transcribed according to the system used in Hans Wehr's *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*.

Introduction

THE VERSIONS OF THE *HISTORY* OF AGATHANGELOS

The *History of Armenia* attributed to a certain "Agathangelos" ["good messenger"] is the standard Armenian version of the conversion of that country to Christianity through the labours of saint Gregory the Illuminator.[1] Whoever composed the *History* that has come down to us in Armenian manuscripts claimed to be a scribe commissioned by the converted king Trdat to write a chronicle of the events described, and to be himself a person well versed in Greek literary skill. This claim has caused much confusion and misunderstanding, in that the Greek versions of the story are translations from Armenian [not necessarily from the Armenian text as now known], and nothing was written in the Armenian language before the invention of the Armenian script in the early fifth century. Whatever the circumstances of the composition of this *History*, it cannot in its Armenian form as presently known have been written in the early fourth century.[2]

The *History* of Agathangelos covers the long period from the demise of the Arsacid line in Iran soon after 224 to the death of Gregory some time after the Council of Nicaea in 325. It brings together a number of episodes which may, or may not, have been originally associated with its hero. Gregory is also known from Armenian sources that predate Agathangelos; and texts written later than Agathangelos have evidence of traditions associated with Gregory that do not appear in the *History.*

1. See the list of chapter headings above, 4, for the main themes of the story.

2. See the end of this Introduction for some views on the origin of the written *History*. The name Agathangelos, "good messenger/angel," is attested elsewhere, though it is not common. A third century martyr Agathangelos, bishop of Damascus, is remembered on February 8 in the tenth century Palestinian Calendar; see Garitte, *Le Calendrier*, 154. And an apprentice barber of the same name is mentioned in the Oxyrynchus papyri; see Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish*, 116.

The author of the *History* ascribed to Agathangelos attempted to create a picture of Gregory as the founder of the Armenian Church based on traditions mostly oral but also [possibly] written. His effort was neither the first word, nor the last in that process, but the *History* of Agathangelos did eventually become the enshrined version of events. As such it joined those other classics of Armenian literature which defined the past as a source of inspiration and a model for emulation in the future.

Since the story of Gregory's heroic sufferings and activity was so dramatic, it became popular throughout the eastern Christian world, and later on was known in the west.[3] A great variety of versions of the tale of Armenia's conversion thus came to exist in numerous languages, even if they never replaced or modified the received Armenian text. The purpose of the present volume is to present in English the major early variations on a well-known story, so that they may easily be compared with the Armenian. First, it may be helpful to offer a chronological description of the printing of texts through which the *History* became familiar to an ever-widening circle of readers. Then the narratives in the different versions will be compared with the existing Armenian. The major part of the Introduction, however, consists of a review of the image of Gregory in Armenian authors from the fifth to the fourteenth centuries. It should become clear that despite the authority of Agathangelos, the picture was never set in stone, and that the *History* is not the end of a process of codification, but a defining point in its evolution.

The Texts

The first printing of the Armenian *History* of Agathangelos began in 1709 in Constantinople and was completed in 1710 [1159 of the Armenian era] at the press of Gregory, son of Mkrtič‘ Marzuanec‘i.[4] The

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3. The earliest reference in Latin to a feast of St Gregory is in the Naples Calendar [end of the eighth century] for the 3rd December; see Peeters, "S. Grégoire l'Illuminateur."

4. For fuller information on the following bibliographical details see the article "Agat‘angelos" in Anasyan, *Matenagitut‘yun*, vol. 1, 151-213, also Winkler, "Our Present Knowledge;" for secondary literature see also Thomson, *Bibliography*, 90-95, and "Supplement," 179-180. Details of Armenian early printed books may be found in

next edition came out in 1822 at Ortaköy, a suburb of Constantinople. The Mekhitarists printed their first edition in Venice in 1835, drawing on a number of manuscripts; this formed the basis for several subsequent editions. The first edition to appear in Tiflis, in 1882, was based on the Venice 1862 text. More importantly, a critical edition by G. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean and St. Kanayeanc' appeared in the Georgian capital[5] in 1909 in the series *Patmagirk' Hayoc'* ["Historians of Armenia"] under the general editorship of St. Malxaseanc'.[6] The text of that edition without the apparatus and lengthy introduction was reprinted in Tiflis in 1914, in a popular series called the Łukasean collection. That Armenian text was reproduced in the 1976 English translation by R. W. Thomson.

The Mekhitarists of St Lazzaro in Venice, who were the most assiduous and successful promoters of Armenian studies in the west during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, produced the first translation of Agathangelos in a modern language in 1843 [in Italian].[7] More significant for knowledge of the *History* in the west was the French translation produced in the first volume of V. Langlois' *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, Paris 1867. This and its companion volume of 1869[8] still remain popular translations of Armenian historians in the francophone world, despite the publication of more critical Armenian texts in the intervening 140 years. In addition to the annotated English translation of 1976, there is also a rendering in modern Armenian by A. Ter-Łevondyan, Erevan 1977.[9] Curiously, there does not seem to be a translation in German.

Oskanean et al, *Hay Girk'ĕ*; for early Armenian presses see Kévorkian, *Catalogue des "Incunables" arméniens.*

5. Tiflis before the First World War was the cultural capital of the whole Caucasus, not least also for the Armenians.

6. The same series saw the first critical editions of the *Histories* by Łazar P'arpec'i and Movsēs Xorenac'i.

7. The title page gives the credit for the translation to the Mekhitarist monks, adding that the work was reviewed "quanto allo stile" by N. Tommaseo.

8. Reprinted as one volume by the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon 2001.

9. S. Malan published an English version entitled "The Life and Times of S. Gregory the Illuminator," London 1868; but this is a rendering of the retelling by M. Eudokiac'i, Venice 1749, not a direct translation of the text of Agathangelos. And Eudokiac'i's text is a

A Greek version of the *History* had been known since 1762, when J. Stilting published a text from the Laurentiana Library in Florence in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*.[10] The same Greek text was printed by Langlois after his French translation in 1867, and a more scholarly edition was published by Paul de Lagarde in 1888. All of these editions were based on the same manuscript. Only in 1973 did a critical edition of the Greek version appear, based on a wider range of manuscripts, published by Guy Lafontaine. On the other hand, the Florence manuscript has preserved a unique text relevant to the *History*, which is not found in any other manuscript: the story of the revolt of Artašir the Sasanian against Artaban, the last king of the Arsacid dynasty in Parthia. This is the historical setting for the beginning of Agathangelos's *History*, which emphasises that Trdat is descended from the Armenian line of the Arsacid dynasty.[11] As for the relatively minor variations in the manuscripts of the Greek translation of the *History* itself, the best witness to the Armenian from which it was translated is, ironically, a further translation into Arabic from a lost [or at least, unknown] Greek manuscript. This was edited by Ter-Łevondyan in 1968.

All these texts, plus a great number of rewritings and abbreviated versions in various languages, derive eventually from the Armenian version as known from the surviving manuscripts described in the critical edition of 1909. But in 1905 Nicolai Marr published an Arabic version in St Petersburg, which dramatically changed the picture. Although Marr provided a Russian translation of his text, from Sinai 460 of the ninth century, his work was little known outside a small circle of specialists until Garitte's epoch-making publication of 1946. Marr had realised that his Arabic text derived from a Greek version, but Garitte found an example of that Greek version in a manuscript in the Escorial in Spain. Through his edition of the Escorial text with a parallel translation in Latin of Marr's Arabic text in 1946, Garitte made more easily available

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combination of Agathangelos, Movsēs Xorenac'i, the Synaxarion [*Yaysmawurk'*], and the later Metaphrastic version.

10. MS Plut. VII, cod. Gr. 25, of the 12th century, in Volume VIII for September, Antwerp 1762, published from a copy made by Fr. Papebroch. The *Acta Sanctorum* were reprinted in Paris and Rome, 1865.

11. This is translated below as chapter II; it has also been translated from Lafontaine's edition by Dodgeon in *The Roman Eastern Frontier*, 11-14, and by Muradyan and Topchyan, *e-Sasanika* (on line).

witnesses to a different recension altogether of Agathangelos' *History*, one that displayed many significant divergences from the story as known so far.[12] The Sinai manuscript used by Marr lacks the beginning of the text. This lacuna was filled by Ter-Łevondyan in 1973, who published the missing part from the Arabic manuscript Sinai 455 of the twelfth century.

From linguistic analysis it was clear that the recently discovered Greek version, a source for the Arabic, was itself a translation from Armenian. Of that Armenian version no trace has yet been found in its original language, but in 1965 Garitte published another Greek text [discovered in Ochrid by Halkin in 1961], which partly reproduced the text of the Escorial version, and partly introduced a different version of the Agathangelos story.[13] In order to distinguish these two stems of the tradition, the known Armenian with its derivatives, and the lost Armenian with its derivatives, Garitte employed two sigla which have become standard: *A* for the known Armenian, i.e. "Agathangelos," and *V* for the lost Armenian, i.e. "Vie [= Life]."

These two branches of the written story of Armenia's conversion through the work of Saint Gregory the Illuminator did not remain strictly divorced from each other.[14] Although the *A* version dominated in Armenia, to the extent that no written evidence of *V* remains,[15] both versions were known in Greek. Furthermore, a version in Syriac that drew upon both traditions was published by Michel van Esbroeck. In 1971 he published a Karshuni text—that is, a text written in Arabic by

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12. Garitte begins the Avant-propos to his *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* with the comment: "Il faut avoir de bonnes excuses pour parler de l'Agathange." Perhaps he had in mind the strictures of Paul Peeters concerning "des champions de causes perdues [qui] continueront de batailler par habitude, quand l'inanité de leurs disputes sera devenue claire aux yeux du monde entier;" see Peeters, "S. Grégoire," 94.

13. Garitte, "La Vie grecque inédite."

14. For the meaning of "Illuminator," *lusaworič'*, see the commentary to *Aa* §792.

15. It seems unlikely that pure chance was responsible for the disappearance of Armenian examples of the *V* recension. In the later Armenian accounts of the life and work of Gregory occasional parallels with the *V* recension are discernible; see further below, 80.

Syrian Christians using the Syriac script, now known as *Vk*.[16] Sebastian Brock then noted the existence of an earlier Syriac version, and van Esbroeck published that too [*Vs*].[17] What is interesting about the Syriac version of Agathangelos is that it combines the Gregory story with a totally different account of the introduction of Christianity into Armenia by Thaddaeus, also known as Addai. This story derives from the legendary account of the conversion of Edessa, which was well known in Armenia. But no Armenian manuscript of Agathangelos' *History* combines the two.

Such in brief, and passing over many secondary complications, is the background to the present volume. No new discoveries will be presented here; but for the benefit of a readership without access to a rather bewildering range of texts, in a variety of languages not widely familiar, the basic examples of the two recensions of the Gregory story are given below, the witnesses to the *V* recension being translated for the first time into English. Since the derivative versions in the *A* cycle offer no great variations, a full translation of the direct Greek translation is unnecessary; the differences between *Aa* and *Ag* are indicated in notes to the translation of the Armenian.[18] On the other hand, the major witnesses to the *V* cycle are more diverse, so these have been translated in full, i.e. the Greek *Vg* and *Vo*,[19] the Arabic *Va*, and the Syriac *Vs*.[20]

Since the Armenian text of Agathangelos is well known and was studied in some detail in my 1976 publication, that annotation is not repeated.[21] Here I shall first present a brief synopsis of the major

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16. Just as later on Armenians might write Turkish in Armenian script. The manuscript was in Jerusalem as noted by Garitte, *Documents*, 9 n. 4, citing Baumstark, "Die literarischen Handschriften."

17. All the versions of Agathangelos used in this study are listed in the Bibliography s.v. "Armenian Texts."

18. The Arabic version *Aar* that derives from *Ag*, has not been cited in what follows, being a tertiary witness to a known document. The text and modern Armenian translation may be found in Ter-Łevondyan 1968.

19. Only the second part of *Vo* is translated; the first part has the same text as *Vg*.

20. See the Bibliography s.v. Agathangelos for the manuscripts used for the editions.

21. Readers are encouraged to turn to that volume with its facing Armenian text for the literary analysis in the notes.

differences between the *V* recension and the Armenian *Aa*, and then survey the picture of Saint Gregory found in Armenian sources other than the *History* of Agathangelos. As time passed, various aspects of Armenian Christian tradition were said to have derived from Gregory himself; the relationship of these traditions to the written version of the *History* are thus worth investigation.

The A and V recensions

In order to facilitate comparison of the different texts, I have divided the *History* as found in *Aa* into eighteen sections. These do not have manuscript authority, though traces of a few chapter headings are found in some Armenian manuscripts.[22] The basic themes of the *History* can thus be seen from a glance at the chapter headings, printed following the Preface. In what now follows the differences between the various recensions are noted in detail.

I. *Prologue, Aa* §1-17.[23]

The Greek translation *Ag* gives a brief summary of the main themes. The Prologue is not found in any of the witnesses to the *V* recension. As mentioned above, *Vs* begins with a brief account of the arrival in Armenia of Addai, who was martyred in the days of Sanatruk.[24] It has no reference to the author of the *History* or to "Agathangelos."

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22. For divisions in the manuscripts see the apparatus to the critical text, for example §18, 48, 125, 259, 716. Yevadian also gives an analysis of the different versions in his 2008 study, "L'oeuvre de saint Grégoire."

23. The paragraph numbers for the Armenian text [§1-900] were introduced by the editors of the 1909 critical edition. They have been retained here for ease of comparison between the several different versions. An earlier division into 127 chapters, based on Peštmalčean's divisions in the second printed edition, would be less convenient for that purpose. For the corresponding section numbers in the Greek, Arabic, and Syriac versions see the table in the Indices below, 523.

24. Sanatruk: see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 406, for bibliography on this obscure person; that he put Thaddaeus to death is stated in the very first sentence of the *Buzandaran*. For the Introduction to *Vk* and *Vs* see van Esbroeck, "Le roi Sanatrouk et l'apôtre Thaddée."

II. *Artavan and Artašir*

This is found only in one manuscript of the *Ag* recension, Laurentianus, MS Plut. VII, codex Gr. 25 of the twelfth century, in Florence.[25] Although the tale does not add anything to the story of Gregory, it does provide a background for the coming to power of the Sasanian dynasty, which is the starting point for Agathangelos's *History*. It is unknown as such in Armenian, though Movsēs Xorenac'i is familiar with the general tradition.[26]

III. *Xosrov's wars and his death, Aa* §18-36.

The Greek translation *Ag* follows the Armenian fairly closely. This section is not included in the *V* recension except *Vs*, where Artašir is called the "king of Tabriz"[27] and Anak is said to be the brother of Xosrov. It mentions Gregory's conception on the site of Addai's martyrdom, a tradition elaborated in Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 74, but not found in the *Buzandaran*.

IV. *Trdat's exile and restoration, Aa* §37-47.

Ag follows the Armenian closely with minor variations. The Greek witnesses to the *V* recension omit the introductory sections and begin their account with the confrontation between Gregory and king Trdat; see chapter V. But the Arabic, *Va*, inserts a brief reference to Trdat assisting the Roman emperor Diocletian in his war against the Goths. In *Vs* all this is placed after Trdat had taken service with Trdat before the latter's restoration to Armenia. Here *Vs* claims that Gregory was brought up in Neocaesarea, rather than Caesarea; see *Aa* §37. Indeed, Caesarea does not figure in *Vs* at all, for later in the text Gregory is said to have been consecrated in Rome, not Caesarea as in all the other witnesses; see §804 below. Furthermore it is unique in introducing Gregory's wife and children before he decided to take service with Trdat.

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25. See above, 10, for details of its publication. The Artavan and Artašir episode is also included in the later Greek Metaphrastic version.

26. See the commentary following §17.

27. This strange title for the Sasanian shah has a parallel in a later Armenian tale, and implies a date in Muslim times; see the commentary to *Aa* §36.

V. *Gregory's tortures, Aa* §48-122.

There are no serious changes in the Greek translation, *Ag*. The Greek texts *Vg* and *Vo*[28] begin abruptly: "In those times, when Trdat was reigning in Greater Armenia, there was a great persecution of the Christians." The Arabic version, on the other hand, follows *Aa* by indicating that the confrontation between Gregory and Trdat occurred when they reached the temple of Artemis [Anahit] at Erēz on Trdat's return to his kingdom. The account of the tortures in the Greek texts *Vg* and *Vo* is abbreviated, and some are omitted, i.e. water poured into Gregory's bottom *Aa* §109 [also omitted in *Va*], being torn with iron scrapers §111, and his legs beaten with hammers §115. The prayers are curtailed, and some have been replaced elsewhere. In general the Arabic *Va* gives a fuller narrative, though still shorter than *Aa*. In *Vs* Gregory's lengthy prayer, §75-99, is totally omitted. More significantly, the *V* recension except for *Vs* does not state that Gregory's ancestry as son of Anak was discovered.

VI. *Trdat's prowess and edicts, Aa* §123-136.

Ag follows the Armenian closely. All witnesses to the *V* recension omit the description of Trdat's military triumphs and his struggle with Persia. The Greek texts state that Gregory was nourished in his snake-filled pit by a woman who brought bread and water, whereas *Aa* refers to a widow who brought a loaf of bread a day, as also *Vs*; *Va* merely refers to his food and drink as God's gift. In the *V* recension the two separate edicts of *Aa* are run together and abbreviated, save that *Vs* omits the edicts altogether.

VII. *The Martyrdoms of Rhipsime, Gaiane and their companions, Aa* §137-210.

Ag offers no major changes. The Greek texts of the *V* recension abbreviate the account, especially the prayers. *Vg* adds that the nuns fled to Armenia via Phrygia, but does not indicate that they stayed in a vat-store or wine-press; whereas *Va* has no reference to Phrygia, but does mention the press in the vineyard. Diocletian's letter to Trdat in *Vg* states that Rhipsime was the daughter of a consul [not in *Va*], whereas *Aa*,

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28. Garitte only prints the text of *Vo* from §178 onwards, but he indicates that for the previous section it is close to the account in *Vg*.

§138, refers to her royal birth from pious lineage. *Vg* and *Vo* add here a reply to Diocletian from Trdat. *Vs* gives a very different account of the nuns' arrival in Armenia, stating that forty lived in a ruined wine-press near Dvin, while the rest of the seventy-seven dwelt in a cave near Awan.[29]

The story of the martyrdoms is greatly abbreviated in *Vg*, the lengthy prayers are omitted or much reduced, and only a couple of sentences are given to Rhipsime's struggle with Trdat. Again *Va* gives a much fuller narrative than the Greek, especially for the prayers. *Vg* does not linger over the details of the martyrdoms themselves, and it says nothing of the chief-executioner's role in having Gaiane put to death. It claims that all of the nuns were killed at once on the 26th of September.[30] In this section, from §178 *Vo* suddenly diverges from the account in *Vg*, being closer to the Armenian *Aa*. It gives at greater length Rhipsime's prayers when awaiting Trdat in his chamber and after her escape, and Gaiane's exhortation to her through the door. It also gives details of the martyrdoms including the role of the chief-executioner [here called the chief-magus] in having Gaiane killed on the day after Rhipsime. For these events the Arabic is much closer to *Vo* than to *Vg*. The Syriac *Vs* gives an abbreviated account of the three separate martyr scenes [Rhipsime, Gaiane, the nun in the press], but no date. It does, however, add that Manē [*Mny*] was among their company, but avoided death and went to dwell in a cave—where Gregory was later to die.

VIII. *Trdat's punishment and the rescue of Gregory, Aa* §211-225.

There are no significant changes in *Ag*. According to *Vg* and *Va* three days passed after Trdat and the Armenians had been afflicted by demons before Xosroviduxt had a vision. And the vision was only repeated once, not five times, before Awtay was sent to rescue Gregory. *Vs* claims that Trdat's sister was told to whisper in Trdat's ear, and he nodded agreement that Gregory should be brought. But *Vo* and *Va* here are closer

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29. Dvin was the administrative capital of Armenia after the end of the Arsacid monarchy in the early fifth century. The reference to Avan refers to the split in the Armenian church at the beginning of the seventh century, when the catholicos resided in Dvin, but the rival pro-chalcedonian patriarch was in Awan; see Garitte, *Narratio*, 248-264, and cf. Greenwood, "Armenian Neighbours," 338. Cf. also below, 98-99.

30. September corresponds to Hoṙi according to the translation in *Ag*. See further below, 95.

to the fuller account in *Aa*. *Aa* indicates that Gregory's body had turned black from his years in the pit, as does *Vs*; but *Vg* states that his hair had grown long enough to cover his naked body, and *Vo* and *Va* claim that his body had no marks or bruises. *Vo* also notes here that a widow "of royal family" had nourished him when in the pit with bread and water; in *Va* it is a widow from the palace. After his return to Vałaršapat, according to the *V* recension the people were freed from demon-possession, though the king was not fully restored to human form until much later [§773]. *Vg* omits reference to the preservation of the martyrs' bodies, but *Vo*, *Va* and *Vs* retain this passage and the refusal of Gregory to let the Armenians wrap the bodies at that point.

IX. *Gregory's sermons*, *Aa* §226-730.

Ag offers no major changes to the Armenian, save that it omits entirely the section §259-715 known as *The Teaching of Gregory*. In *Vg* the *Teaching* is also omitted, and the introductory sermon and the final exhortation are reworked into a short address, after which the people are cured a second time and the king's mind is restored [cf. §730], followed by a longer exposition of the nature of God and his creation of the world. According to *Aa* §729 Gregory's instruction lasted sixty-six days, but *Vg* makes no reference to its length. *Vo* is closer to the Armenian, giving his initial sermon in detail. More interestingly, it quotes from the *Teaching*, §652-654,[31] before Gregory proceeds to the construction of funerary chapels. *Va* gives merely a brief account of Gregory's teaching before reporting his vision [see the next chapter]. It then returns to his instruction, including a slightly shorter extract from the *Teaching* than that in *Vo*. *Vs* indicates that Gregory's instruction lasted sixty-five days, and gives an extended resumé of the *Teaching*.

X. *Gregory's vision*, *Aa* §731-756.

There are no major changes in *Ag*, save that the significance of the covenant, *uxt*, in §754 is not recognised.[32] In *Vg* and *Va* the site of the

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31. These are not paragraphs with parallels in the Pseudo-Hippolytus *De Fide* studied by Garitte, "Le traité géorgien," for which see Thomson, *Teaching II*, 53-54.

32. The covenant is a reference to the pact between church and people at the time of the rebellion against Iran in 450-451, the focus of Ełišē's *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*; see further below, 38-42.

vision is identified as Artašat, where Gregory had been imprisoned, not the capital Vałaršapat. This either implies that the translator was not familiar with the martyria and the main church, the *kat'ołikē*, whose establishment in Vałaršapat is the main point of the vision, or it is a deliberate attempt to downplay the role of Vałaršapat. The second explanation is argued by Cowe in his discussion of the chalcedonian tendency of *Vg*.[33] The details of the vision are much reduced, though *Vg* and *Va* do add that the columns marking the sites of the martyria were on the east, south and west, i.e. relative to the *kat'ołikē*. The man with the golden hammer who explained the vision to Gregory [the "providence of God" in *Aa* §743] is called the "power of the Omnipotent" in *Va*, but he is not identified in *Vg*. [He was later identified with Christ himself, hence the name Ējmiacin, "the Only-begotten descended," for Vałaršapat; but there is no suggestion of that in *Vg* or *Va*.[34]] *Vo* and *Vs* omit all reference to the vision.

XI. *Chapels are built and the people cured, Aa* §757-776.

Ag makes no significant changes. Trdat's healing occurs in different stages. According to *Aa* at §729 his mind was restored so that he could understand Gregory's preaching; *Vo* and *Va* agree. Trdat's hands and feet were next restored so that he could join in the building, *Aa* and *Vs*, §763; but the other versions of the *V* recension ignore this. In §764 *Vg* refers to his mind being restored, while *Vo* and *Va* state that Trdat was fully restored. In *Aa*, followed by *Vg* and *Vs*, his final healing occurs in §773. *Vs* is alone in claiming that Trdat's mind came back when the people were cured in §221, immediately after Gregory's return from the pit.

Vg does not identify the specific sites of the martyria, §766. *Vg* and *Va* state that Trdat brought from Mt Masis twelve enormous stones, rather than the eight of *Aa*, *Vo* and *Vs*, §767, four being required for the door to each of the three chapels. This is spelled out clearly in *Va*. On the other hand, the Syriac explicitly states that only two chapels were

33. Cowe, "An Armenian Job Fragment," 151-152. Van Esbroeck thought that the change reflected the later importance of near-by Dvin; see his "Nouveau Témoin," 129.

34. On this tradition and the name Ējmiacin see further below, 87.

involved.[35] *Vg* and *Va* add that guards and attendants were appointed for the churches, their subsistence to come from the royal treasury; but this is not in *Vo* or *Vs*. It reflects the later appointment of priests and attendants for the churches built on the sites of pagan temples, though in their case the confiscated temple properties provided subsistence [e.g. §780, 784].[36]

XII. *The pagan shrines are overthrown, Aa* §777-790.

Ag offers no major changes. *Vg* and *Va*, however, introduce new material. First Trdat orders all the Armenian princes and the kings of the Laz [Abxaz in *Va*], the Iberians and Ałuank' to assemble in his presence, without indicating his purpose which emerges in the next section. *Vg* then introduces Gregory's wife, who leaves Caesarea where she had brought up their two sons, and joins her husband. But the couple do not live together; Gregory's wife, named Julitta,[37] is put in charge of the chapels for the holy virgins. None of this is in *Vo*, *Va* or [the abbreviated version in] *Vs*, which follow the Armenian.

In *Vg* and *Va* the destruction of pagan shrines occurs after the gathering of princes and kings. The account is shorter than in *Aa*, but the main temples are described and the deities' names given Greek identification, as in *Ag*: Artemis and Apollo at Artašat, Barshamin [identified with Rhea] at T'ordan, that of Zeus at Ani, Artemis again at Erēz, Athena [Nanē in *Aa*] at T'il, Dionysius [Mihr in *Aa*, and Zeus in *Va*] at Derjan. *Va* adds another temple of Zeus at an unnamed location; it also states that temples of idols were destroyed in the land of the Laz, Georgians, and Ałuank'. *Vo* mentions the temples of Artemis and Apollo at Artašat, an unnamed deity at T'ordan, the temple of Chronos and Zeus at Ani, of Artemis at Erēz, that of Athena at T'il, and of Dionysius at

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35. Presumably *Aa* and *Vo* refer only to the martyria of Rhipsime and Gaiane, the third chapel being far less significant. This third chapel is often called *Šołakat'*, "stream, flow of light," in modern times, but that name was originally given to the *kat'ołikē* or to Zuart'noc'; see Khatchatrian, *L'Architecture*, 85, Garibian de Vartavan, "L'aspect primitif," 405-406, nn. 17, 19.

36. For support from the royal treasury see *Aa* §840 regarding the instruction of the children of the pagan priests.

37. For Julitta see the commentary to *Aa* §859.

Derjan. *Vs* does not name the pagan deities, but merely refers to the temples and idols in Bagavan, Erēz, and "all Armenia."

XIII. *Gregory is consecrated at Caesarea, Aa* §791-808.

There are no significant changes in *Ag*, but major variants appear in the *V* recension. *Vg* and *Va* had placed the list of princes who were to escort Gregory to Caesarea before the destruction of the pagan shrines; their list is close to the Armenian, and some titles are explained.[38] The assembled princes and the three kings declared their suppport for Gregory as teacher, and they destroyed the temples. In *Vo* there is no reference to the foreign kings, and Trdat convenes his nobles in an effort to make Gregory pastor for Armenia. In all versions an angel over-rides Gregory's hesitation to be appointed pastor, and he sets off for Caesarea with the escort. *Va* expands the description of the journey and the reception in Caesarea, while *Vg* notes that Gregory's wife and friends were among those greeting him. In Caesarea Leontius summoned a council of bishops. *Aa* had indicated that "a council of many bishops" took place to consecrate Gregory; this becomes "twenty" in *Vg*,[39] but *Vo* refers to "a large number," and *Va* says "the bishops and metropolitans who were under his authority." Trdat's letter is read to the council, rather than given to Leontius on arrival, and the text of the letter of reply to Trdat is placed before Gregory's departure.

Vs is quite idiosyncratic. It notes that sixteen great princes led Gregory's escort, but they went to Italy, to Leontius patriarch of Rome,

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38. See the commentary to *Aa* §795 for details.

39. This number has a special significance, for in 1938 Lebon, "Sur un concile de Cesarée," noticed that Armenian and Syriac canon lists referred to a council of twenty bishops at Caesarea following the council of Ancyra in 313, but before that at Neocaesarea in 319. That this was the occasion for Gregory's consecration, dateable to 314, was argued by Ananean, "La data," 317-344. However, the original Greek canon list was faultily transmitted, and the list of bishops belongs to the council of Neocaesarea. The ten Armenian canons themselves, which betray later retouching by Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i, derive partly from those of Ancyra; Armenian text in *Kanonagirk'* I, 168-176, the list of twenty bishops is on p. 150. On this question see the discussion in Mardirossian, *Le livre des canons*, 570-575, with details of previous scholarly literature. He was unaware of Parvis, "The Canons of Ancyra," who points out that these canons do not mention, and have no relationship with, the consecration of Gregory. That a synod convened in Caesarea and promulgated canons seems quite implausible.

who gathered his bishops and consecrated Gregory as "Catholicos for the Armenians."[40]

As for Gregory's consecration, *Vg* and *Va* give more detail than the Armenian, but *Vo* merely states that the bishops laid their hands and the holy gospel on him and recited the customary prayer. It is noteworthy that *Va* states that Gregory was ordained priest for Armenia before the distribution of gifts by the princes, after which the bishops took him to the main church for the service of episcopal consecration, followed by the liturgy. Is this the repetition of a careless editor, or an indication of the usual progression from priestly to episcopal status? A direct jump from being a layman to a bishop was generally frowned upon.

Vg and *Va* add that Leontius instructed Peter, bishop of Sebaste, to accompany Gregory back to Armenia and to enthrone him there, and they give the text of the letter from Leontius to Trdat at this point [for which see *Aa* §820]. *Vo* says nothing about Gregory stopping in Sebaste, or about letters exchanged between Trdat and Leontius. *Vg* and *Va* later stress that Trdat could read the letter in Greek which Leontius had sent. *Vs* notes that Gregory stayed in Sebaste on his way back and brought relics of John the Baptist and of other martyrs, including "one of the disciples of Peter the apostle." The reference to Peter may be a confusion with Peter the bishop of Sebaste.

XIV. *Gregory builds churches and baptizes the king and people*, *Aa* §809-836.

There are no significant changes in *Ag*. *Vg* and *Va* begin by stating that churches had already been founded in each town before Gregory's return from Caesarea. Gregory's first act was to destroy the temples at Aštišat, but *Vg*, *Vo* and *Va* only mention that of Aphrodite [Astłik in *Aa*], omitting those of Vahagn and of the Golden-mother goddess [Anahit]. *Vs*, however, refers to the temple of Vahevahe, a reminiscence of the Armenian *vahēvanean*. None of these texts states that Gregory founded festivals there in honour of the relics he had brought.

Vg and *Va* state that once Gregory had been enthroned at Aštišat by Peter of Sebaste, he baptised the Armenian magnates [before the general baptisms of court and people]. According to *Vo* those baptised on that

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40. See below, 75-76, for later Armenian witnesses to a tradition that Gregory was consecrated in Rome.

occasion numbered nineteen times ten thousand, following *Aa*. *Vs* refers to the baptism of eight myriads. In *Vg* and *Va* the Armenian king with the kings of the Laz, Virk‘ and Ałuank‘ met Gregory at Bagavan, but *Vo* and *Vs* do not mention the kings. The witneses to the *V* recension report the miracles at the baptism, but disagree on the number of those baptised. *Vo* agrees with *Aa* in giving 150,000; *Vg* and *Va* have 370,000; while *Vs* claims ninety thousand myriads, i.e. 900,000,000! The *V* recension does not suggest that more were baptised over the following week [four million in *Aa* 835], save that *Vs* refers to another three hundred thousand, nor does it mention the festival established at Bagavan by Gregory.

XV. *Gregory's missionary activities*, *Aa* §837-858.

Ag makes no major changes. The *V* recension does not mention the setting aside of land to support the clergy in the newly established churches,[41] or that the pagan priests now converted had come from Greece [i.e. the eastern Roman empire] and were "trained in Greek opinions." *Vg* and *Va* omit the description of the lands throughout the Caucasus visited by Gregory, but add details of those sent to be bishops in Iberia, Lazica and Ałuank'. They do not suggest that more than four hundred bishoprics were created, as in *Aa* and *Vs*, and they abbreviate the account of Gregory's ascetic activity and his journeys to strengthen the faithful. *Vo* greatly abbreviates this section, and that text ends with Gregory's retreat to the mountain from which the Euphrates river takes its course.[42]

XVI. *Gregory's sons are brought to Armenia*, *Aa* §859-866.

There are no significant changes in *Ag*. This section does not appear in *Vo*. *Vg* had earlier introduced information about Gregory's wife and sons, much of which is unknown to *Aa*. It refers to Vrt‘anēs and Aristakēs being brought to Armenia, after the visit to Constantine [next chapter], only at the very end of the text. *Va* is close to *Aa*, and *Vs* gives an abbreviated version of that account, but states that Gregory's sons

41. But see chapter 11 for grants from the treasury for the clergy in *Vg* and *Va*.

42. A reference to the Cave of Manē on Mt Sepuh. The name Sepuh is not found in the early texts, but figures prominently in the Panegyrics on Gregory; see the texts in Terian, *Patriotism*, and in general Thierry, "Le Mont Sepuh."

were in Neocaesarea [where it claimed earlier that Gregory had been brought up and married].

XVII. *Gregory and Trdat visit Constantine*, *Aa* §867-883.

There are no major changes in *Ag*. The story does not appear in *Vo*. Here *Vg* and *Va* make a significant alteration by stating that Constantine summoned Trdat and Gregory to Rome, rather than claiming that the Armenians went of their own accord after hearing of the emperor's conversion to Christianity, as *Aa* and *Vs*. *Vg* and *Va* quote the letter supposedly sent by Constantine to Trdat. The pact and friendship that followed, emphasised in all versions, are thus Constantine's own initiative. The emperor's conversion and the events leading up to his assumption of power are omitted, though both versions refer to Constantine's victory through the Cross. *Vs* merely states that Constantine killed the twelve rebel tyrants. More significantly, it places the visit in Constantinople.

Vg, *Va* and *Vs* do not list the nobles in the escort taking Trdat and Gregory to Rome to visit Constantine. *Vg* and *Va* reduce the number of troops from the seventy thousand of *Aa* and *Vs* to ten thousand. They add that on the way they stopped to see Leontius at Caesarea, and that on arrival in Rome they all prayed in the church of Saint Peter. Trdat's description of events in Armenia is expanded, and the presents they received from Constantine are described. None of this is in *Vs*. *Vg* and *Va* add that on returning to Armenia, via Pontus, Gregory and Trdat appointed commemoration of Constantine and Helen in the diptychs. After this, *Vg* introduces the account of Trdat arranging land to be set aside for the support of the priests appointed to churches, five plots for each large village and three for small ones [*Aa* §837]. *Va* has interpreted the passage to mean that Trdat sent five men to supervise the administration of the churches in large towns, and three in small ones. At this point, according to *Vg*, Trdat, being unable to persuade Gregory to spend time with him, had his sons brought to Armenia.

XVIII. *The Council of Nicaea and Gregory's last days, Epilogue*, *Aa* §884-900.

Ag makes no significant changes, save that Gregory's "additions" to the canons, mentioned in *Aa* §885, do not appear. *Vg* omits mention of the council of Nicaea, and ends with a brief reference to the Epilogue, where the unnamed author gives his sources and describes his purpose.

Va gives a brief account of the council and its canons and ends in a fashion similar to *Vg*. *Vs* has major additions. After a brief reference to the council of Nicaea and the canons "perfected by Gregory," it describes Gregory's retreat to the cave of Manē where he dwelt for thirty years before dying. Shepherds buried his body, and the grave remained unknown like that of Moses, lest the Armenians worship his body instead of God. But in the time of Zeno his relics were discovered by an anchorite named Amra ["lamb"], and reburied in T'ordan, where his sons had been buried. Finally, the emperor Heraclius built a splendid church on the site. T'ordan was known to the *Buzandaran* as the burial place of Gregory and his sons, while Movsēs Xorenac'i mentions the story of Amra, giving his name in the Armenian form Gaṙnik ["lamb"], II 91. But Heraclius's church does not appear in the Armenian historians.

From the versions of Agathangelos in Greek, Arabic and Syriac, it is clear that the story of Gregory and his activity in Armenia was far from being set in stone. Indeed, even in other Armenian authors differences from the standard text of Agathangelos may be found, indicating that traditions concerning Gregory were in steady flux. It may be worthwhile to examine the Armenian evidence before attempting to place the versions found in other languages in their historical settings. It will be interesting to see whether or not any of the differences just noted also appear in Armenian. The *History* of Agathangelos as enshrined in the known Armenian text is part of a process, being neither the origin nor the final word on Gregory's persona. Therefore in what follows we shall disregard any assumed date for "Agathangelos," and survey the main evidence, whether or not it may date to before or after the composition of the Armenian text *Aa*.

GREGORY IN OTHER EARLY ARMENIAN SOURCES

No text written by a Christian Armenian in Greek or Syriac before the invention of the Armenian script is known to have survived. Nor has anything written in the pre-christian era in Armenia come down to us-- the tragedies, orations or histories attributed to king Artavazd, for

example--save inscriptions or coins in Greek or Aramaic.[43] The invention of a script for Armenian by Maštoc‘ at the beginning of the fifth century is first described by Koriwn, one of his numerous disciples. His *Life of Maštoc‘* makes it clear that the problem of using Greek or Syriac for church purposes was a paramount motivation. Whatever may have been recorded in Greek or Syriac before the time of Maštoc‘ has disappeared (including possible drafts of the stories concerning Saint Gregory). Our direct knowledge of Armenian ecclesiastical history derives from texts written in the Armenian language using the new script.

Every Armenian text that mentions Saint Gregory knows him as the real founder of the Armenian church. He may not have been the first Christian to set foot in Armenia, but Armenian traditions concerning the missionary activity of Thaddaeus or Bartholomew never suggest that earlier Christian communities had a continuous existence down to the time of Gregory. Armenian knowledge about Thaddaeus derives from the tradition that he was the disciple that Jesus Christ promised to send to cure Abgar, king of Edessa. The legend of Abgar's correspondence with Jesus was already known to Eusebius of Caesarea;[44] by the end of the fourth century a lengthy account existed in Syriac, and this in turn was later adapted in Armenian to bring Addai to Armenia, where he was martyred. In the original story he died in Edessa.[45] This emphasis on Edessa points to the early significance of Syrian Christian missionary activity in Armenia and the use of Syriac mentioned by Koriwn. The Armenian Agathangelos has no reference to Thaddaeus or his tomb in Armenia; but the later historian Movsēs Xorenac‘i and the Syriac adaptation of Agathangelos, *Vs*, report the tradition that Gregory was actually conceived on the grave of Thaddaeus. This neatly combines the description of the Armenian patriarchate as "the throne of Thaddaeus," which is repeated several times in the *Buzandaran*, with the emphasis on Gregory in Agathangelos.

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43. See Plutarch, *Life of Crassus*, §33, for the writings of Artavazd.

44. See his *Ecclesiastical History*, I 12. The Armenian version of this *History* was translated early in the fifth century from the Syriac version, not from the original Greek.

45. For the Armenian adaptation of the story see Labubna, s.v. *Armenian Texts* in the *Bibliography*. A later version of the tale is published by Outtier, "Une forme enrichie de la Légende d'Abgar arménien."

At a later date the tradition that the apostle Bartholomew visited Armenia was recorded by Movsēs Xorenac'i; in the early eighth century the suggestion is found also in the *Narratio* and in Step'annos Siwnec'i.[46] But the introduction of Bartholomew reflects an emphasis on direct episcopal succession from the original twelve apostles, which is not found in the earlier texts.

Curiously, the information about Christians in Armenia given by the historian Eusebius of Caesarea [in Palestine] was not picked up by later Armenian writers, even though Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* was well known in its Armenian translation. An important problem in this regard is, of course, that in Greek "Armenia" might well refer to areas west and south of the actual Arsacid Armenian kingdom which were inhabited by a significant number of Armenian speakers. If such lands did not fall under the Armenian definition of *Hayk'* but into the Eastern Roman empire or the satrapies on the Syrian border, their history would not necessarily be recorded. Thus Eusebius' reference to a third century bishop of the "Armenians" called Meruzanes has no echo in Armenian sources; and his definition of the "Armenians" as "Christians and exceedingly earnest in their piety towards the Deity," who were persecuted by Maximin in 312, is not mentioned by Armenian historians. Greater Armenia was not involved.[47]

The first texts written in the newly invented Armenian script were translations of liturgical and biblical books required for the church. As Koriwn elegantly states: "Moses and Paul now became Armenian-speaking." But rapidly a broader range of theological works became available, including commentaries, histories, and homilies. And already Koriwn notes the introduction of heretical writings in addition to the works of the orthodox fathers. A sense of the wide learning of Maštoc' circle may be derived from the sources used by Eznik, a colleague of

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46. *Narratio*, §1-8; Step'annos Siwnec'i in the *Girk' T'łt'oc' I*, 323, in his *Response to the Letter of the Bishop of Antioch*. But for doubts on the authenticity of this letter see Findikyan, *The Commentary*, 53. It is discussed further below, 63. On the Bartholomew tradition in Armenia see Van Esbroeck, "La naissance du culte de saint Barthélémy."

47. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI 46.2, IX 8.2. Agathangelos does mention Maximin in *Va* §868, but merely as one of the "impious kings" destroyed by Constantine in the latter's rise to supreme power. On the area involved in Maximin's persecution see further Duchesne, "L'Arménie chrétienne," and Ananean, "La data," 344-346. See in general Garsoïan, *L'église arménienne*, ch. 1: "Le cadre historique," 1-43.

Koriwn in the translation activity sponsored by Maštoc‘ and the patriarch Sahak. Eznik himself was able to use Greek and Syriac sources in the original languages, but his treatise on *Freedom of the Will*[48] demonstrates an impressive range of scholarship.[49] Neither Eznik nor Koriwn, however, had occasion to refer to Saint Gregory.[50]

[The curious document known as "Le Questionnaire de Saint Grégoire" bears no relation to Agathangelos or traditions about Gregory. The title derives from canons which were attached to the beginning of the text. The text itself has a close rapport with Eznik's treatise.][51]

The Buzandaran

Agathangelos as the author of a book about Gregory is not mentioned by name before the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries, when Łazar P‘arpec‘i refers to him as the author of the first written history of Armenia. But many of the traditions enshrined in Agathangelos already appear in the work known as the *Buzandaran Patmut‘iwnk‘*, or "Epic Tales," written by an unknown author before the end of the fifth century.[52] This author describes his own work as the third book to record

48. This was traditionally known as "Against the Sects," because Eznik develops his argument by attacking false theories about the origin of evil. The influential edition and French translation by Mariès, seen through the press by his pupil Charles Mercier, entitles it *On God*. The aim of the work is to defend the thesis that evil has no existence of its own in opposition to God, but is the result of men's free will.

49. The authors used by Eznik include Basil of Caesarea, Methodius of Olympus, Hippolytus, Epiphanius, Diodore of Tarsus, Achilles Statius, Irenaeus, Adamantius, Ephrem, and possibly Origen, Gregory of Nyssa and Theodoret; he was also familiar with the *Apology* of Aristides and the *Didascalia Apostolorum*; résumé in Mariès, "Le *De Deo* d'Eznik."

50. The *Life of Maštoc‘* did undergo a later revision under the influence of traditions in the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac‘i. In that secondary version the patriarch Sahak is said to be of the "line of Saint Gregory" [§168 in Winkler's translation and commentary], which was a standard description of the Armenian patriarchate.

51. Adontz, "Le questionnaire," thought that it served as a source for Eznik.

52. The enigmatic Armenian title was explained by Nina Garsoïan in the detailed commentary to her 1989 translation [p. 14]; it is based on the etymology proposed by Anahit Perikhanian from *bozand*, "a reciter of epic poems."

events in Armenia, the first covering the period "after the preaching of the apostle Thaddaeus ... to the completion of the teaching of Grigor and his eternal rest," and the other "from the apostle-killer Sanatruk[53] to the submission of king Trdat to the faith and his eternal rest." Neither description fits any known Armenian work, though some have speculated that the former referred to some early version of the *History* of Agathangelos that did not survive. Thaddaeus [Addai] and Sanatruk do appear in the Syriac version of Agathangelos, as noted above; while Trdat's death is first mentioned in the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i. Although the Armenian version of the *History* of Agathangelos does end with a reference to Gregory's death, it has no mention of Thaddaeus, Sanatruk or Trdat's death.

On the other hand, in the *Buzandaran* there are references to many of the episodes found in Agathangelos. Its author knows Gregory as the son of Anak [III 2], and refers to his two sons [III 5], though he provides no further details of Gregory's early life. According to Agathangelos, Gregory's "illumination" of Armenia occurred after his miraculous survival of thirteen [or fifteen] years of captivity in the pit at Artašat. His rescue was the only way to save king Trdat and the Armenians from afflictions following the martyrdom of Gaiane, Rhipsime and their companions. The *Buzandaran* has nothing to say about those events, but it does refer to the "first martyrs of Christ" in the district of Ayrarat [III 14]. The holy sites of their martyrdom, however, are not nearly so significant for the *Buzandaran* as the sites associated with Gregory's first church at Aštišat and his tomb in T'ordan, also in western Armenia.

After his emergence from the pit Gregory began to destroy pagan temples, a process continued after his consecration as bishop. His activity as destroyer of pagan temples is mentioned in the *Buzandaran* [III 3], but not his consecration at Caesarea, although it is noted that it was "customary" to have the Armenian patriarchs consecrated there [IV 4, V 29].[54] Much more attention is given to Gregory's building of churches, in particular the church at Aštišat on the site of the temple of Vahagn [III 14], whose construction was accompanied by "portents" [III 3, as in Agathangelos] and which is consistently lauded as the "mother" church.

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53. So-called because he put Thaddaeus to death.

54. See note to *Aa* §14 for the variety of terms used for the chief bishop of Armenia.

It was fortified [III 3] and particularly honoured for the festivals of John the Baptist and Saint Athenogenes, whose relics had been placed there by Gregory [III 14]. In the town was a bishop's residence [III 19], and synods of bishops were held there [IV 4]. One could stroll from the episcopal palace to the martyria of the saints, and wander around the large and beautiful open square; the beauty and setting of the site was "most fair" [IV 14].

Following his consecration Gregory performed mass baptisms of the Armenian court and people. One of these is mentioned in the *Buzandaran* [III 14] in connection with the burial of St. Daniel at the place called Hac'eac' Draxt ["Ash grove"], "near the spring where Gregory had baptised a multitude of the forces of the realm."[55]

After saint Gregory with the cooperation of king Trdat had organized the Armenian church on a firm basis, Agathangelos informs us that they heard of the conversion of the emperor Constantine to Christianity. King Trdat decided to visit him, taking Gregory with him, and in Rome an alliance was made between Constantine and Trdat. This episode, differently described in the versions of Agathangelos, had a long and important history in Armenian tradition. On it were based ideas of deliverance from foreign enemies, and later elaborations even describe Constantine and Trdat with their respective patriarchs dividing the world into two spheres of authority, secular and religious. The *Buzandaran* refers to Trdat's alliance with Constantine in the context of a later embassy sent to request help from the [unnamed] "king of the Greeks" in the reign of king Tiran [III 21], but it does not mention Gregory in that regard. When Constantine summoned the council of Nicaea [in 325], Gregory sent his son Aristakēs to represent Armenia. This is noted in the *Buzandaran* [III 10], but its author does not mention that the canons of that council were brought back to Armenia, where Gregory supposedly made additions to them [*Aa* §885]. Agathangelos does not describe Gregory's death, merely noting that he spent his last days preaching and reading the scriptures. The author has no reference at all to the death of king Trdat. But the *Buzandaran* knows of Gregory's tomb at T'ordan [III

55. This refers to *Aa* §814: After building the foundations for the church at Aštišat Gregory baptised the princes of his escort to Caesarea, and then the people of the local province, in all more than 190,000 in twenty days.

2, 14]. It refers to the "memory" of king Trdat [III 14],[56] and also praises him for allotting lands for the support of the church, unlike the later king Pap [V 31].[57]

The *Buzandaran* is thus familiar with Gregory's life and work in their general outline as described in Agathangelos. Its author offers little precise information about Gregory which could not have been taken from the Armenian tradition enshrined in the *A* recension, though he certainly does not repeat all the episodes there elaborated. One interesting addition is that the *Buzandaran* knows of a church founded by Gregory at Amaras in Ałuank‘ [III 6], where his grandson Grigoris was later martyred. Agathangelos had described in vague terms Gregory's missionary journeys to the north and east, but does not elaborate on the Ałuan connection. The Ałuan local traditions are described for us much later by the historian Movsēs Dasxuranc‘i.[58]

More significantly for Armenia proper, the author of the *Buzandaran* downplays the importance of Vałaršapat in the Gregory story, emphasizing the role of Aštišat in the west, the Syrian connection of many of his heroes, and the earlier introduction of Christianity from Edessa by Thaddaeus. Thus the Armenian episcopal line is called the "throne of Thaddaeus" as well as the "throne of Gregory" [III 12, IV 4; III 12, IV 3, the "inheritance" of Gregory]. But Gregory was the "first high-priest" [*Preliminary Statement*, IV 3], and it is his teaching that formed the basis of the Armenian church [III 1]. Here "teaching" is to be construed in a general sense, not in the restricted sense of that section of the Armenian text of Agathangelos' *History* known as *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*.

Łazar P‘arpec‘i

The author of the *Buzandaran* knew of written accounts of events before his own coverage of Armenian history, but "Agathangelos" as an

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56. For a later account of Trdat's death see Movsēs Xorenac‘i, II 92.

57. See *Aa* §837 for the lands allotted to the church.

58. See Movsēs Dasxuranc‘i, I 20, for Gregory's church at Amaras, and below, 70-72, for further details about Gregory and Ałuank‘.

author and Gregory as the main subject of a book are not mentioned until the end of the fifth century. Łazar of P'arpi's *History* was written to extol his patron Vahan Mamikonean after the latter was appointed *marzpan* of Armenia in 485 by shah Vałarš of Iran.[59] It begins with a concise description of previous Armenian *Histories*: "The first written history of Armenia was composed in a reliable fashion by the blessed Agathangelos. Beginning with the death of Artevan at the hands of Artašir, son of Sasan the Stahrian tyrant, [it describes] the conversion of Armenia from the ignorance of idolatry to the true knowledge of God through the holy champion Gregory, after whose name [the book] is called 'the Book of Gregory'."[60] Łazar then describes the contents of the *Buzandaran*, "the second written history," which he claims was written by a certain P'awstos of Buzand, though he gives no title. And he calls his own work "this third history, a continuation of that book." After a brief introduction to the motivation for his own undertaking, Łazar returns to Agathangelos, giving a detailed analysis of the contents of his *History*, but not quoting it directly. In addition to the comments at the beginning of his *History*, Łazar frequently refers to the Gregory story in the course of his narrative. These references are noted here, following the order of the chapter headings of the translation of Agathangelos below.

I. *Prologue*.

Łazar: "Agathangelos was a man versed in knowledge and full of all instruction, veracious ... and elegant." Łazar ends his own Prologue [p. 6] with a rhetorical passage on the writing of history that is closely patterned on the Introduction in Agathangelos.

II. *Artavan and Artašir* [which only survives in the Greek MS Laurentianus].

Łazar: "Accurately and methodically he presented the eclipse of the rule of the Arsacid Artavan and the rise to power of Artašir the Stahrian, son of Sasan."[61]

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59. P'arpi is twenty miles NW of Vałaršapat; see Hewsen, *Armenia*, 63 [Map 55].

60. And at the end of his *Letter* he refers to the *History of the Champion Gregory*, 203.

61. The problem is whether this refers to traditions known in Armenia and reflected in the story in the Greek manuscript in Florence, or merely refers to the first part of §18 in *Aa*.

III. *Xosrov's wars.*

Łazar: "the vengeance of Xosrov and the anxiety of the haughty Stahrian; the plot and promises to the one who would find a way to kill Xosrov; the deceitful planning of Anak and the murder by him of that same Xosrov by treacherous fraud; the consequent delivery of Armenia to foreign rule."

IV. *Trdat's exile.*

Łazar: "the bringing of Xosrov's sons[62] by their tutors in flight abroad for safety; the triumphant return of Trdat and his valiant seizure of his ancestors' kingdom by victorious warfare."

V. *Gregory's tortures.*

Łazar: "the coming to him of saint Gregory; his willing desire for service; the martyrdom of the same saint; how he endured ineffable and innumerable tortures; the greater help of Christ which was revealed with regard to the saint for the astonishment of those men still in error; his extended endurance for so many years in the pit in accordance with the prescient providence of the One on High, who preserved the champion for his task in Armenia."

VI. *Trdat's prowess.*

Łazar does not refer to this section.

VII. *Martyrdom of Rhipsime.*

Łazar: "the arrival of the holy virgins from the city of Rome; the shedding of their blood as martyrs in the city of Vałaršapat for the irrigation and blossoming of the arid bodies of the population."

VIII. *Punishment of Trdat.*

Łazar has no reference to the torments that befell the king and court following the martyrdoms. But he does record: "the emergence of saint Gregory from the deep pit."

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62. The text of Łazar, 2, has a plural with no variants attested. But according to Agathangelos Xosrov had one son [Trdat]; his murderer Anak had two sons, who escaped [Gregory to Greek territory, his brother, later known as Surēn, to Persia].

IX. *Gregory's sermons and teaching.*

Łazar: "the withdrawal of the land of Armenia from the darkness of ignorance to the light of the divine kingdom; the subsequent flowing forth of the the teaching of life to Armenia." Later [p. 21] he refers in more general terms to "the afflictions and tribulations, the supplications and prayers, which for the sake of the salvation of this whole land he addressed to God, rescuing everyone from unbelief and making them believers by the grace of the holy Spirit. He expelled and drove from you the errors of the demons; sowing the true faith of the knowledge of God, he made it flourish among you." Frequently Łazar contrasts the "holy and unsullied religion that the saintly champion Gregory had established and organised in all the churches of Armenia ... the canons and teaching established in angelic order" [pp. 26-27], with the falling away of later times. He emphasizes the "teaching of the honoured saint Gregory, which he had imparted and handed on authentically to the whole land of Armenia" [p. 37], the "all-holy teaching of the martyr Gregory and his descendants" [p. 50], "the holy and righteous preaching of life, which the martyr and apostle to Armenia, Gregory ... had taught and implanted in every soul" [p. 39], "the true and righteous faith [taught by] the apostle-like shepherd and martyr Gregory and his descendants" [p. 51].[63]

X. *Gregory's vision.*

Łazar does not refer to the vision in his initial summary of Agathangelos, but later [p. 28] mentions "the prophetic vision that was shown to the holy champion Gregory as knowledge of future events." That passage is associated with the vision of Sahak, which may be a later interpolation. But later Łazar describes Gregory's vision in greater detail [p. 42] with reference to the impious Varazvałan: "Thereby the earlier prophetic vision of the holy martyr Gregory that was revealed to him by God gradually began to become clear: the fountain of life in which the flocks of black goats washed, and turned into the colour of white fleeced sheep, and appeared shining like the sun. Half of those who were washed turned back on their heels, passed through the water, and changing from the likeness of white lambs took on

63. Further allusions to Gregory as teacher, martyr, confessor, the equal of the apostles, are found on pp. 62, 70-71, 90-91. In the *Letter*, p. 192, the text clearly implies that "our apostolic martyr Gregory, the teacher of Armenia," was considered to be the author of unnamed books. Whether the homilies attributed to Gregory known as *Yačaxapatum* were in Łazar's mind, or whether he means a version of the *Teaching*, is unclear.

the black colour of wolves; they attacked the lambs and butchered them. Just as these, in the earlier vision of the saint, turned from lambs to wolves, so did this man from the family of Siwnik' become the cause for the destruction of many and the ruin of Armenia."[64]

XI. *Chapels are built for the martyrs.*

Łazar does not mention them here, but he was very familiar with the martyria in Vałaršapat. In his description of the delights of Ayrarat [p. 11] he notes "the angelic foundations of the house of God, the great cathedral [*kat'olikē*][65] and the chapels of the blessed ascetic nuns." He refers to liturgies and offerings in the house of God and these shrines [p. 141, 176], and to "the intercession of the holy virgins [p. 122]."

XII. *Pagan shrines are overthrown.*

Not mentioned by Łazar.

XIII. *Gregory is consecrated bishop.*

Łazar does not refer to this, nor does he ever mention Caesarea. But he does emphasize the line of bishops descended from Gregory [p. 34].

XIV. *Gregory builds churches.*

Łazar: "the testaments of the light of baptism which the Saviour Christ, through the great champion Gregory and by the intercession of the holy virgins, propagated in our land; the building of churches; the brilliance of the priests; the crowds of congregations at the festivals of the Saviour and at the commemorations of the saints." Later he refers to Gregory begetting "teachers and numberless heroes, many hermits, and infinite groups of virgins [p.90]."

XV. *Gregory's missions.*

Łazar does not mention specifically the journeys attributed to Gregory by Agathangelos,[66] though he does refer to his many "labours" [p. 21].

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64. Łazar clearly interprets the vision in light of the Armenian rebellion against Iran in 450-451; see further below, 75.

65. *Kat'olikē* refers to the principal church of a complex or a town, which is not necessarily the seat of a bishop.

66. *Aa* §840-844, with echoes of the journeys of Maštoc' as described by Koriwn.

XVI. *Gregory's sons.*

Łazar has no reference to Vrt'anēs or Aristakēs, but he refers to Sahak as a descendant of Gregory [p. 17]. In the vision attributed to Sahak great emphasis is placed on the Gregorid line of patriarchs in tandem with the Arsacid line of monarchs [p. 34].

XVII. *Trdat and Gregory visit Constantine.*

Łazar does not describe this, but in the context of a request for military aid to the emperor Theodosius II he does refer to "the covenant and treaty made and sealed long since by the previous emperors" [p. 74].

XVIII. *The council of Nicaea and Gregory's last days.*

Łazar does not refer to Aristakēs attending the council of Nicaea.[67] Nor does he describe Gregory's death.

It is clear that Łazar was familiar with an Armenian *History of Gregory* under the name of Agathangelos that contained much, though not necessarily all, of the material found in that *History* as now known. Unfortunately, he gives no verbatim quotations which might enable us to identify a particular manuscript tradition, but none of his allusions points to anything outside the *A* recension, with the exception of the reference to Xosrov's sons in the plural, not found in any version of the story. On the other hand, Łazar is familiar with traditions concerning Gregory that are not found in Agathangelos or the *Buzandaran*. These concern Gregory's relics and the invocation of his intercession. Łazar does not mention the death of Gregory, only hinted at in Agathangelos, or the actual discovery of his relics as known from later traditions in the Syriac version of Agathangelos or Movsēs Xorenac'i's *History*;[68] but the cult of

67. His one reference to the council of Nicaea [p. 28, in the preamble to Sahak's vision] is interesting for the association he makes with the Lenten fast. On Maunday Thursday evening Sahak says that he had tasted "nothing more than bread, water and salt according to the definition of the great and holy synod of the 318, who in the city of Nicaea thus regulated." Such a regulation is not in the Nicene canons, but is no. 105 in the so-called "Second Nicene Canons," a later abbreviated version of the collection of canons from Nicaea to Laodicaea, *Kanonagirk'* II, 89. On the Armenian version of the Nicene canons see further below, n. 264.

68. According to *Vs* §297 the relics were discovered in the time of Zeno [emperor 474-491] by a certain "Emra," and were then buried at T'ordan beside his sons who were already buried there. Its author adds that Heraclius [emperor 610-641] had a splendid church built

Saint Gregory was clearly developed by his time, as indicated by the efficacy of prayers addressed to him.

When Vardan Mamikonean and the Armenian nobles returned from the Persian court they were met by clergy "bearing the relics of the holy apostle-like martyr, Gregory, and singing psalms..." [p. 55]. The Armenian princes declared their willingness to fight: "We have placed our hope neither in the Romans nor in the Huns, but first of all in the mercy of God through the intercession of saint Gregory" [p. 119]. On their way to battle the Armenians "entering the church, worshipped the Lord God.... They implored him to send them as support the mortifications of the holy martyr Gregory and of all the saints, and the virtues of the Christ-loving martyrs, and the power of the holy Cross" [p. 122]. Nerseh Kamsarakan prayed for the release of his brother from captivity: "'Lord Gregory, who dispelled from Armenia the thick fog of the impiety of our sins, dispel also the thick fog of grief from my heart, and allow me to see my dear brother safe and sound beside me.' [Gregory] heard, and immediately spoke to Christ. God the Saviour straightway delivered the prisoner Hrahat from the attention of the guards surrounding him, and sent him back safely to his beloved brother and his country" [p. 139]. When Vahan and the princes returned to Armenia, the Catholicos Yovhannēs [Mandakuni] came out to meet them "with the honourable sign of the Cross and the holy relics of the ascetic martyr Gregory." At this period the Catholicos was resident in the capital, Duin, not Vałaršapat. Łazar makes this clear by noting that "after the Catholicos had blessed them all, they went first to the city of Vałaršapat.... They performed vows and offerings in the holy *kat'olikē* church, and then in each of the sites of the martyred virgins.... After a few days ... they moved on to the capital of Armenia, Duin" [p. 176].

According to Łazar Gregory also had a shrine at Bagawan [p. 139], where Nerseh Kamsarakan had made his successful plea for his brother's release. Near here the noble Yazd of Siwnik' was martyred, and his relics interred in the "holy chapel of Gregory" [p. 141]. Bagawan was a site well known to Agathangelos, for Gregory had baptised king Trdat and the army there with attendant portents [*Aa* §832] and built a church for the relics he had brought from Caesarea. The commemoration of those

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over them. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 91, gives no date, but gives "Emra" the Armenian form "Gaṙnik," i.e. "lamb."

saints at the feast of Nawasard [New Year] is noted in the *Buzandaran* [IV 15].[69] But no other early source refers to a chapel dedicated to Gregory himself at Bagawan.

At first glance the difference in the descriptions of saint Gregory's labours and his cult evinced by the *Buzandaran* and Łazar might lead one to suppose that in the intervening generation[70] not only had the *History* of Agathangelos been composed, but Gregory's religious importance had dramatically increased. But given the totally different motivations of the author of the *Buzandaran* and Łazar, caution is required. The aim of the *Buzandaran* is to emphasize the epic quality of the surviving traditions concerning the kings of Armenia, the noble house of the Mamikonean, and the leaders of the church during the fourth century, traditions which were in danger of being lost—and indeed which were not fully comprehended in their original meaning by later historians such as Movsēs Xorenac'i.[71] The emphasis is on Iran and the enduring Iranian character of Armenian culture. Ecclesiastically, that entailed pointing to the Syrian influence on early Armenian Christianity, though, of course, the connection with Caesarea as the locus for consecration of Armenian patriarchs was duly acknowledged. The author of the *Buzandaran* is not interested in the traditions of Vałaršapat, the site of the martyrdom of Rhipsime and her companions that was considered to be the preliminary to the conversion of king Trdat. The centre of church life in the period before the division of Armenia circa 385 into two spheres of influence, Roman and Iranian, was Aštišat, not the *kat'olikē* and shrines at Vałaršapat. The author of the *Buzandaran*, in that regard at least, did not adopt an anachronistic view of fourth century Armenia, though he was writing nearly a century later.

Łazar, on the contrary, was passionately involved in the actual administration of the ecclesiastical complex at Vałaršapat, where his personal experiences were not all happy ones. He played a personal role in the commemorations of the martyred saints, whose shrines lay within

69. According to Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 77, the fire of Ormizd was kept perpetually burning there; he also says, II 66, that the feast of Nawasard was established there by king Vałarš.

70. Łazar was writing at the turn of the fifth/sixth centuries. The *Buzandaran* is not dated, but its composition is plausibly ascribed to the 470s by Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 11.

71. See Garsoïan, "The Two Voices," 12-13.

easy walking distance, and of saint Gregory himself, whose vision was considered to be the spark for the building of the *kat'olikē*. He was writing long after the central role of Aštišat had diminished, and was clearly anxious to downplay all Syrian connections—hence not only his disdain for the *Buzandaran* as an historical composition, but his contempt for Syrians in general. For him it was Greece, i.e. the late Roman or Byzantine empire, that was the source of orthodox Christian culture.

The story of Gregory, which lays so much stress on Vałaršapat as the site of the martyrdoms, where subsequently shrines and the main church, the *kat'olikē*, were constructed, may well have received a more coherent form and an author, who called himself Agathangelos, in the period between the composition of the *Buzandaran* and Łazar's *History*, but the main features of the account of Armenia's conversion were known well before that time. It is surprising that Łazar omits all reference to Gregory's tomb at T'ordan, known to the *Buzandaran*, but not mentioned by Agathangelos either.[72] Perhaps he did not wish to detract from the importance of Vałaršapat for the cult of saint Gregory. But what does cause astonishment is the lack of reference to Gregory or Vałaršapat in a different *History* that purports to have been written even before Łazar's. I refer to one of the most famous literary compositions of early Armenian literature, the *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, attributed to Ełišē.

Ełišē

The *History of Vardan* describes the rebellion of 450-451 against Persian rule, in which the Armenian army was led by Vardan Mamikonean. This episode had formed the middle part of Łazar's *History*, which then took the story to the appointment of Vardan's nephew Vahan as *marzpan* of Armenia, when he was granted a measure of internal liberty. Ełišē presents the war as a clash between Christianity and irreligion, the Armenians being modelled on the Maccabees as

72. T'ordan in *Aa*, §784, is described as the site of a famous temple to Baršamin, which Gregory destroyed before erecting the sign of the cross and devoting the village and its properties to the service of the church.

martyrs for the faith, preferring death on the battlefield to acceptance of Persian interference in the freedom of the church. The Armenian church is depicted as a leader of the rebellion, and a significant portion of the book describes the tortures inflicted on Armenian clergy taken prisoner with surviving nobles after the defeat at Avarayr.

There has been much debate about the date of composition of Ełišē's *History* and its relationship to that of Łazar.[73] Was Ełišē an eyewitness, as the dedication to his patron states; or is this *History of Vardan* a later composition, interpreting in dramatic form the events already described more briefly by Łazar, in order to emphasize a stirring message: to be an Armenian means to be a Christian, and to support the Persians is equated with irreligion?

Clearly Ełišē views the church as a dominant force in Armenian life, and he describes Christianity as the "ancestral" religion of Armenia. Several generations had indeed passed between the time of Saint Gregory and the 450s, though Ełišē does not specifically refer to a period earlier than the reign of Šapuh III [reigned 383-388], in whose time Armenia was divided into two kingdoms, a larger Iranian sphere and a smaller Byzantine one, as described by Łazar. Yet Ełišē's view of Armenian Christianity is a singularly unhistorical one. He never mentions Gregory the Illuminator, or any later ecclesiastical figures such as patriarchs down to his own time. He has no reference to Rhipsime or the martyred virgins, whose shrines dominated Vałaršapat. Admittedly, since the demise of the monarchy in 428, Vałaršapat had lost its importance as capital, and Ełišē notes that Artašat served as the administrative centre. But even if the inheritance of Gregory seeemed irrelevant to Ełišē for his own dramatic purposes, it is all the more extraordinary that he claims that Armenian Christianity derives from Rome and that it was Trdat who brought the faith and "illuminated the benighted regions of the north."

This claim appears in a letter sent under the names of the Armenian coadjutor Yovsēp‘,[74] many bishops, and leading military officers,

73. Other works are also attributed to Ełišē, notably homilies and biblical commentaries. Common authorship of the *History* and the homilies is plausible, but this does not solve the problem of dating since those works are undated. See in general Zekiyan, "Quelques observations."

74. Yovsēp‘ had not been consecrated as patriarch, but acted as chief bishop after the death of Sahak in 439.

requesting military assistance from the Byzantine emperor Theodosius II. Recalling earlier Roman interest and support for Armenia, the letter states: "Our ancestor Trdat remembered your earlier affection. When in his youth he fled from his murderous uncles who assassinated his father, he lived and was brought up in the land of the Greeks. Made king by you, he ruled over his ancestral land. Likewise, having received faith in Christ from the holy archbishop of Rome, he illuminated the benighted regions of the North, which now the darkness-loving sons of the East wish to wrest away from us."[75]

That Trdat was brought up in the land of the Greeks, that with Roman support he regained his native land, that he had met the archbishop of Rome and had been involved in the "illumination" of Armenia, were facts common to the traditions surrounding Saint Gregory. But that his father [Xosrov] had been assassinated by his brothers rather than the Parthian Anak, and that Gregory should be totally ignored in the conversion of Armenia need some explanation. In fact, Ełišē may have preserved some valuable information about the succession to the Armenian Arsacid throne. Artašir the descendant of Sasan came to power in 224. According to Agathangelos, for the next ten years Xosrov waged war against him, until Anak deceitfully came to Armenia and in the following year murdered the Armenian king. Trdat, the son of Xosrov, was then an infant, but was taken to Greek territory. After an unspecified period of time, when he had gained fame by military prowess, he was restored to Armenia. In Trdat's first year Gregory was tortured and imprisoned for refusing to join in the worship of the traditional gods. He spent thirteen, or fifteen, years in the pit before emerging to convert the king and court to Christianity. That occurred as a consequence of demonic possession that befell Trdat after he had martyred Rhipsime and her companions in the reign of Diocletian [284-305]. Trdat was still king in 325, when he sent Gregory's son Aristakēs to the council of Nicaea that had been convened by Constantine. Agathangelos gives no indication of the date of Trdat's death, but according to his chronology he would already have been at least ninety years old by 325.

As Nina Garsoïan has remarked, "scholars have long struggled to give a rational explanation for the history of third-century Armenia in which only two abnormally long reigns [of Xosrov and his son Trdat] are

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75. Ełišē, *Vasn Vardanay*, 72.

recorded by Armenian sources, a task made still more difficult by the need to account for the claims made in the royal Sasanian inscriptions."[76] In order to make some sense of the non-Armenian sources for the Roman-Persian wars of the perod, several scholars proposed that more than one ruler in Armenia has been subsumed under the name of Trdat. Consequently the son of Xosrov, who according to Greek sources was the father of grown sons rather than an infant, was not identical with the ruler of Armenia in the fourth century.[77] This may have been known to the scribe of the Greek manuscript in the Laurentiana, whose text at §36 reads *ou mikrotaton* instead of the standard *smikrotaton* that renders the Armenian *mankik mi p'ok'rik* for Trdat as an infant. That Greek reading is confirmed by the Arabic translation *Aar.*[78] But no further light has been shed on the suggestion that Xosrov was murdered by his brothers.[79]

The epic tale of Gregory's origin is tied to the story of Anak. But more important for the history of Christian Armenia are Gregory's cooperation with the Trdat who was on the throne at the beginning of the fourth century, and his consecration in Caesarea as the first bishop for Armenia. No other Armenian source passes over Gregory in silence, attributing the conversion of Armenia to Trdat alone. Nor is it possible to imagine that an Armenian historian, writing after the revolt of 450-451, would not have heard of Gregory as the founder of Armenian Christianity, even if his cult had not yet developed to the extent indicated by Łazar. Whether Ełišē wished to consider the Armenian church a timeless institution, identified with Armenian culture from ages immemorial; or whether he stressed the role of Trdat in his account of the appeal to the emperor Theodosius, reminding one monarch of another without mentioning any ecclesiastical leaders, but emphasizing Armenia's debt to Rome, are matters for speculation. Ełišē's omission of

76. Garsoïan in *The Armenian People*, ed. Hovannisian, I, 72. See the section "Armenia under the Sasanians (224-298)," *ibid*, 71-75.

77. See Ananean, "La data," 63-73, for a review of Manandian's theory, and also Toumanoff, "The Third-Century," 238. Zonaras, XII 21, explicitly refers to the *paides* of Tiridates fleeing to the Persians.

78. Garitte interpreted the Greek *ou* as a misrendering of the Armenian *mi*, which in certain constructions can be a negative particle, or can be the indefinite pronoun, or the numeral "one." But the Greek reading does conform to the tradition that Xosrov was a grown man.

79. A Persian plot is not discounted by the involvement of Xosrov's brothers.

Gregory must be deliberate, and in that case it is not necessarily a decisive argument for dating his *History* before that of Łazar, against all the considerations that lead to a date in the sixth century.[80] Indeed, if Ełišē's *History* is a later composition, its author may have wished not to mention persons associated with an independent church now at odds with Byzantine orthodoxy. Yet if he wished to stress Armenia's connection with the west, it is strange that he emphasises the individuality of the Armenian church with no reference to Christendom at large. Be that as it may, nothing is known of Ełišē as a person save for later legends. His passing over Gregory does not mean that the latter's role was unknown in fifth century Armenia.

Łazar P'arpec'i is the exception to the general rule that Armenian historians of the first few centuries are unknown figures. "Agathangelos" is a pseudonym for a totally unknown person, the date of whose edition of the Gregory story remains to be determined.[81] *The Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, attributed by Łazar to "Pawstos," is equally anonymous. Nothing is known of Ełišē or the Davit' Mamikonean to whom he dedicated his work. Sebēos [Eusebius], whose *History* covers the sixth and first half of the seventh centuries, is an unknown person, though he had access to many documents preserved in the patriarchal records. And most controversial of all is the enigmatic Movsēs Xorenac'i, who claims to have been a disciple of Maštoc' and whose *History* ends with the latter's death, but the date of whose *History of Armenia* is one of the most contentious issues in modern Armenian scholarship. Before we turn to these last two authors, another anonymous work merits a note, the *Anonymous Chronicle* of the seventh century.

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80. For arguments in favour of a sixth century date see the Introduction to the translation by Thomson.

81. See the end of the Introduction for possible dates.

The Anonymous Chronicle

This historical compilation ["miscellany" in Greenwood's words] is dated to the end of the seventh century.[82] Although a version of Hippolytus' *Chronicle* was first thought to have served as the main source, the text has brief descriptions of the reigns of Byzantine emperors down to the first reign of Justinian II [685-695]; these are based on Greek texts, not Armenian sources. The *Chronicle* refers to Trdat and to Gregory under the time of Diocletian: "This [emperor] made Trdat king over Greater Armenia. And he raised severe persecutions against the churches...." Here follows a list of martyrs. "From this same Diocletian fled the holy Rhipsimeank' to Armenia, and were martyred. At the same time the confessor of Christ, saint Gregory, emerged from the pit and became a preacher to the Armenians, and he illuminated them by baptism."

The innovation here is the use of the common Armenian collective ending in *-eank'*, thus *Rhipsimeank'* for Rhipsime and her companions.[83] That form is not found in the text of the Armenian Agathangelos, except in manuscript notes or headings printed in the apparatus to the critical edition. It is used by Movsēs Xorenac'i twice, with reference to Nunē and Manē, whom he associates with the band of virgin martyrs, but neither of whom appear in Agathangelos or other writers before Movsēs.[84] But it is a standard term in later writers, the collective form being useful shorthand. Otherwise, this *Anonymous Chronicle* offers no new material regarding Gregory that could not be based on Agathangelos.[85]

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82. On the character of this text see Greenwood, "New Light."

83. Cf. *Vardanank'* for the companions of Vardan in Ełišē's *History*. The ending *-ean* [sing.] can indicate a collective plural, e.g. *grean*, "books, writings," from *gir*.

84. Except that Manē appears in the *V* recension; see above, 24.

85. For the meaning of "illumination" as baptism see the commentary to §792.

Sebēos

In Sebēos' time [late seventh century] the Armenian patriarch resided at Dvin; our author describes the church built near the city in honour of Saint Gregory [p. 68], and its rebuilding at the beginning of the seventh century [p. 100, 112].[86] Sebēos was familiar with the holy sites at Vałaršapat and with the importance of Saint Gregory, though he adds a few details of traditions not recorded by Agathangelos. He is familiar with Trdat's visit to Constantine accompanied by Saint Gregory; for after the rebellion of Vardan Mamikonean in 572 [not to be confused with the events of 450-451], the Greek emperor Justin II promised military assistance, and Sebeos says that he "made an oath with the Armenians and confirmed the same pact which had been made between the two kings, the blessed Trdat and Constantine [p. 68]." He is familiar with Gregory's origin, and refers to the Persian *asparapet* "who was descended from the criminal Anak's offspring." Tutors had taken one of the latter's sons away from "the brigand Xosrov, king of Armenia," and fled to the court of their king, to Persian territory. The king presented him with the gifts promised to his father Anak, restoring his original Parthian and Pahlaw lands [p. 73]." If Xosrov, Trdat's father according to Armenian tradition, is called a "brigand, *hēn*," Sebēos must here be indebted to a Persian tradition. Agathangelos had referred to two sons of Anak, Gregory who was taken to Greek territory, and the other [unnamed] who was taken to Persian territory. The latter is called Surēn in later Armenian histories, the name of one of the branches of the Pahlavid family to which Anak belonged.[87]

Sebēos was much interested in ecclesiastical affairs, about which he was well informed. The building and repair of churches are frequently mentioned, and he devotes a lengthy passage to a description of the church dedicated to Rhipsime in the city of Vałaršapat, for the earlier construction by Sahak son of saint Nersēs [catholicos 387-439] was "too low and dark."[88] The body of the holy martyr was unexpectedly

86. Sebēos, 91: the holy vessels are removed on the division of Armenia into Greek and Persian spheres.

87. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 28, for the three branches of the Pahlavid family. See Yovhannēs Mamikonean, below, 68-69, for Gregory's brother called Surēn.

88. Sebēos, 121.

discovered, sealed not only with Sahak's ring but also that of Saint Gregory himself, as described in Agathangelos [*Aa* §760]. Sebēos describes her cult and the healings performed at the church. He also gives valuable information about the *kat'olikē* at Vałaršapat. The catholicos Komitas "took down the wooden roof and renewed the unstable wall. He built the stone roof."[89] Somewhat later, the Catholicos Nersēs III [641-661] decided to move his residence nearer those holy churches in Vałaršapat [p. 147]. He built a new church "in the name of the heavenly angels who had appeared as a multitude of heavenly hosts in the vision of Saint Gregory."[90] In Nersēs' time the emperor Constans sent an envoy to Armenia to urge the Armenians to accept the *Tome* of Leo, the Christological definition that was accepted at the council of Chalcedon in 451, but rejected by the Armenians. But Sebēos states that at a gathering in Dvin in 649 the Catholicos Nersēs, the bishops, and the nobles "did not agree to change the true teaching of saint Gregory to conform to the *Tome* of Leo." In response a letter was composed, though it seems not to have been sent. This long letter Sebēos quotes in full. It indicates how by this time Saint Gregory had become the focus of identity for the Armenian theological tradition.[91]

The letter states that in the reign of shah Xosrov, after the Persians had captured Jerusalem in 614, a debate was held at court attended by Jews and Christians of various persuasions. Debate centred in the four councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon. The Armenian representatives had with them "The Book of Saint Gregory." But it was the patriarch of Jerusalem, Zacharias, who declared: "The true faith is that declared at Nicaea ... in agreement with which were Constantinople and Ephesus. In conformity with these is the true faith of the Armenians. But what was declared at Chalcedon is not in agreement with them." Eventually the shah ordered: "All Christians who are under

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89. The brief description is not very clear. Łazar, 186, had earlier referred to the "wooden structure of the church" being damaged by fire at the end of the fifth century. See further Garibian de Vartavan, "L'aspect primitif." See below, 90-92, for the tradition that on the occasion of the discovery of Rhipsime's relics the *History* of Agathangelos was translated from Greek by a priest named Eznik.

90. Sebēos, 147. This is the large church between Vałaršapat and Erevan known as Zwartnoc' ["of the vigilant ones" = angels; cf. *Aa* §734]; construction started in 644.

91. Text in Sebēos, 148-161, discussed in more detail in Thomson, "The Defence."

my authority should hold the faith of Armenia." The authors of the letter [or Sebēos] do not mention the "Book of Saint Gregory" again, but do give a resumé of their faith "which we have received from the holy apostles through our patriarch Saint Gregory, who instructed king Trdat and the princes of Armenia almost thirty years before Constantine [p. 155]."

According to the *Letter* this faith was confirmed three times. First by saint Łewond, who consecrated Gregory at Caesarea [*Aa* §804]; secondly at Nicaea, where Aristakēs was present [§884-885]; and thirdly, at the meeting between Constantine and Trdat, where Constantine prostrated himself before Gregory to be blessed by him, and where the two kings swore a mutual oath for eternal peace.[92] "Our holy and true catholicos Gregory, raised and educated in Caesarea of Cappadocia, taught us this doctrine, in which we have remained immovable until now [p. 156]." And the *Letter* adds a list of other holy fathers [all Greek] who professed the faith of Nicaea. Here follows a creed, which has only minor variations from the standard Armenian creed. Following this the *Letter* quotes the creed of Nicaea, though the quotation does not exactly match the creed given in full later. More importantly, we read: "So too Saint Gregory learned from his predecessors and taught to us," and a direct quotation from the *Teaching* follows.[93] This seems to be the earliest verbatim citation of Agathangelos in its present Armenian form.[94]

The text of the *Letter* has suffered some damage, for after the creed, comes a brief statement: "Then they [Trdat and Gregory] were summoned to Rome and met king Constantine; and they taught him the true faith." That the Armenians were summoned to Rome, rather than going of their own decision on hearing of Constantine's Christian faith, reflects the *V* tradition of Agathangelos.[95] But the priority of the

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92. Cf. *Aa* §867-881, but Agathangelos does not suggest that Constantine "prostrated himself before Gregory, *xonarheal yots srboyn Grigori*"!

93. Sebēos, 155; Agathangelos §369, 385.

94. For other citations in early Armenian texts see Thomson, *Teaching II*, 53-56.

95. See above, 23. An interesting variation on the invitation from Constantine is found in the document entitled "Conversation, *zruyc'k'*, between Patriarch Komitas and the Patriarch of Constantinople," in the *Girk' T'łt'oc' I*, 484-497 [not in *G.T'. II*]; see p. 492. It states that when Constantine summoned Gregory to the council of Nicaea, he told him either to come in person or to submit a statement of faith.

Armenians receiving the faith, as noted earlier in the *Letter*, is upheld. The *Letter* then briefly describes Constantine's defeat of Diocletian's colleagues, his conversion to Christianity and his confession of faith at Nicaea. This orthodox faith was held until the days of Marcian, when at Chalcedon Theodoret, head of the council, proclaimed "heretically" the *Tome* of Leo [pp. 157-158]. "We received this faith from Saint Gregory and the God-loving kings Constantine and Trdat.... On that same tradition we stand firm [p. 160]."

At the end of his *History* Sebēos returns to the council of Chalcedon. After the composition of the *Letter* just quoted, the emperor Constans himself visited Armenia, and in the church of Saint Gregory [at Dvin] the council of Chalcedon was proclaimed, after which the king, the catholicos Nersēs, "and all the bishops took communion, some willingly, some unwillingly [p. 167]." "In this way the Catholicos perverted the true faith of Saint Gregory." In protest at the behaviour of Nersēs and his pro-Greek attitude, one bishop abstained and hid himself. Sebēos then describes the conversation of the emperor with that bishop [suspected to be Sebēos himself], which ended amicably. But Nersēs withdrew from his position for six years.

The paramount role of Gregory as source of authority for the Armenian church emerges very clearly from Sebēos' narrative. Although he does not mention Gregory's own relics, he has interesting information about the cult of Rhipsime. Here not much is said about Gregory that could not derive from Agathangelos; but whether the "Book of Gregory" corresponded with the *History* of Agathangelos as now known is impossible to say. It was produced in the context of discussion of the faith and the first four "ecumenical" councils. Agathangelos, of course, only refers to Nicaea, and there is much in the *Letter* which is not found in the *Teaching* of Saint Gregory, though that document is quoted briefly. Curiously, the principal divergences from Agathangelos occur in the context of the encounter between the emperor Constantine and king Trdat. Given the importance of the role of Constantine in later Armenian tradition, these divergences merit attention.

In the first place, in the reference to the triple confirmation of faith the *Letter* of the Armenian bishops quoted by Sebēos places the meeting of Constantine and Trdat after the council of Nicaea [p. 155]. This runs counter to the order of events in Agathangelos in all the recensions. But the *Letter* is inconsistent, since in that part which follows the creed it is said: "the light of Nicaea was established for us through Constantine"

after "we received the faith from Saint Gregory and the God-loving kings Constantine and Trdat [p. 160]." Perhaps the order is not as significant as the fact of three occasions for confirming the faith.

When the *Letter* claims that Saint Gregory instructed king Trdat and the princes of Armenia "almost thirty years before Constantine [p. 155]," it is not clear whether this refers to the conversion of Constantine or his meeting with Trdat and Gregory. The latter event has no clear dating in Armenian tradition, but Constantine's conversion is usually associated with his victory over his rivals.[96] Agathangelos, however, puts Constantine's conversion before he marched against his rivals. And he seems to imply that Constantine became emperor in Spain and Gaul after Gregory had instructed the Armenians, been consecrated bishop, and had organised the whole church throughout Armenia. Trdat promptly set out with Gregory to meet him in Rome, before the council of Nicaea in 325. A passage of "almost thirty years" between Gregory's instruction of the Armenians and that journey is difficult to fit in, unless the martyrdom of Rhipsime occurred at the beginning of Diocletian's reign, i.e. in 284.[97] If Trdat had been converted at the beginning of Diocletian's reign, after thirty years [that is, by 314] Constantine would have been known as a patron of the church; for Armenian tradition associates his conversion with the vision of the cross and stars before the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312, when he defeated Maxentius.

On the other hand, Movsēs Xorenacʻi places Trdat's restoration, not the martyrdoms, in Diocletian's third year [286-7], and he dates Gregory's consecration to Trdat's seventeenth year; Gregory could then have begun his instruction in 303. But another thirty years take us well beyond the council of Nicaea. Indeed, according to Movsēs Xorenacʻi, II 91, Gregory only lived for thirty years following his consecration. According to the pro-chalcedonian *Narratio*, Gregory emerged from the pit twenty years before the council of Nicaea, i.e. in 305.[98] Should the period of thirty years mentioned in the *Letter* be considered seriously, or

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96. Agathangelos, §868, groups all Constantine's rivals together. The famous battle of the Milvian Bridge, where Constantine defeated Maxentius and first used a Christian emblem, occurred in 312; whereas Licinius was not finally eliminated until 324.

97. See Movsēs Xorenacʻi, II 83.

98. *Narratio*, §1. See the commentary in Garitte, 53-54.

was it just wishful thinking? However, a word of caution is necessary here. The traditions concerning Gregory are inconsistent. In attempting to construct a chronological framework that could accommodate all the variations there is a danger of reconciling the irreconcilable. One ends up with a schema that is as arbitrary as the premises on which it is built.

Furthermore, it is dangerous to suppose that the phrase in *Aa* §837, "at that time Constantine became emperor," should be construed as referring directly to the previous paragraph concerning Aristakēs assisting his father. The *History* of Agathangelos is built up from a number of different bricks brought together to construct a continuous wall—to borrow a phrase from the author of the *Buzandaran*.[99] These bricks, or various traditions that make up the narrative, do not all fit neatly together. The problems of chronology and coherence, especially in the second half of the *History*, have already been noted. Just as the Greek version *Vg* begins "in those times," so here too the introductory phrase is but a rhetorical device to start a new tale, namely the visit to Constantine. The Armenian *History* of Agathangelos provides no firm grounds for assuming that Gregory and Aristakēs were already organising the Armenian church when Constantine began to favour the church in the empire. If, however, its author had in mind the downfall of Licinius, then a date after 324 is implied.[100] Since the account of the council of Nicaea, held in 325, immediately follows the visit to Rome, that would be chronologically possible.

Finally, it should be noted that in the unrelated texts that precede the *History* of Sebēos in the surviving manuscript[101] it is claimed that Agathangelos set up an inscription at the order of Trdat, giving the years of the early Armenian kings, and that he took the information from the royal archives. The claim in Agathangelos' *History* that he was commissioned by king Trdat to compose his narrative from historical sources is thus expanded. There is, however, no mention of Gregory in those texts. "Agathangelos" has been used as an authority for traditional

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99. *Buzandaran*, III 1.

100. Licinius is included in the extermination of Constantine's rivals in *Aa* §868.

101. Matenadaran 2639, written in 1672 AD at the monastery of Amrdolu [Saint John the Baptist: *amlordi*, "son of the barren one," > Amrdolu] in Bitlis. On the importance of seventeenth century copying at Bitlis for the survival of Armenian historical texts see Thomson, "Bitlis and Armenian Histories."

information concering the Parthians during the time of Trdat, but without reference to Christianity.

Movsēs Xorenac'i

Before turning to more theologically motivated texts, we should examine the tradition about Saint Gregory as recorded in the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i. Movsēs gives a great deal of information about Gregory, claiming Agathangelos as his source. As with other references to sources in Movsēs, however, it is not always clear how much of the quoted passage should be attributed to the source and how much is Movsēs' own addition—either from real but otherwise unattested traditions, or from his own fertile mind, thus creating a new tradition. The following passages deserve attention:

II 28. Gregory was descended from the Surēn branch of the Pahlav noble family. This is not in Agathangelos, but Łazar had noted the blood relationship between the Surēn Pahlav and Gregory's descendant, the patriarch Sahak. The Surēn connection is again stressed in II 91 and III 51.

II 74. Gregory is explicitly linked to the earlier missionary work of Thaddaeus by the claim that he was conceived on the site of Thaddaeus' grave. This tradition is also found in the Syriac version of the *V* recension, but not earlier. It is noteworthy that Movsēs is not only aware of the earlier activity of both Thaddaeus and Bartholomew, but is also anxious to integrate them into the history of the Armenian church.

II 80. Here a totally new tradition is introduced. By chance a woman called Sophy, who happened to be present at Gregory's birth, became his nurse. When Anak was killed after murdering Xosrov, the infant Gregory was rescued by Sophy; her husband was a Persian called Burdar, and Sophy's brother was a Greek magnate called Euthalius. Euthalius brought them all back to Cappadocia, where Gregory was brought up. In due course Gregory married a certain Mariam, daughter of David. After the birth of two sons the couple separated. Mariam entered a convent, and Gregory took service with Trdat. Although the *V* recension of Agathangelos describes Gregory's marriage before his taking service with Trdat, the details are quite different, and his spouse is there called

Julitta; that name is attested as a martyr in Cappadocia under Diocletian.[102] It was the version in Movsēs Xorenacʻi, however, that dominated later Armenian tradition about Gregory's upbringing. Julitta does not appear in Armenian texts.

II 86. Movsēs does not describe the martyrdom of Rhipsime, but does refer to her companions. One of them was called Nunē, through whose piety and miracles the Georgian king Mihran and his court were converted. [Nunē plays a role in Georgian history equivalent to that of Gregory in Armenia.] By alluding to her role in Georgia [*Virkʻ*, the Georgian *Kʻartʻli*] Movsēs can claim that Nunē contacted Gregory, asking him for advice after the Georgians had accepted the gospel. She received a command to destroy the idols, "just as he had done himself," and to set up the sign of the cross "until the day when the Lord would grant them a pastor," which also echoes Agathangelos.

II 89. Agathangelos tells us that the emperor Constantine commanded "all bishops" to assemble in Nicaea for a great council. Movsēs has the emperor send a specific edict to king Trdat ordering him to go with Gregory. But both refused: Trdat because of fear of a Persian invasion, and Gregory out of humility. Nonetheless, according to Movsēs, the council named him "confessor" with affection and great enthusiasm. The Armenians sent Aristakēs instead, as Agathangelos had said, but Movsēs adds that they gave him "a copy of the true confession of faith signed by them both" to present to the council.

II 90. Gregory's son Aristakēs returned with the orthodox creed and the twenty canons of the council, to which Gregory added a few chapters of his own. This follows Agathangelos, save that Movsēs correctly indicates the number of canons as being twenty.[103] After that Gregory retired to the mountains and appeared to no one until his death. Movsēs thus omits Agathangelos' description of Gregory's own discourses [which the latter took from Koriwn's description of those attributed to Maštocʻ] and his continuing exhortations until his death.

II 91. Movsēs is the first historian to repeat tales concerning Gregory's death and the discovery of his relics, which are also found in

102. See the commentary to *Aa* §859.

103. For the Armenian version and the Nicene canons and the story of Gregory's "additions" see the commentary to *Aa* §885, and in greater detail Thomson, "The Armenian Adaptation of the Nicene Canons."

the Syriac version of Agathangelos. Another of Rhipsime's comanions, by the name of Manē, like Nunē had not followed the holy virgins when they came to Armenia, but lived in the mountains of western Armenia in the province of Daranałik'. In the same cave Gregory later dwelt. Unlike *Vs*, Movsēs does not claim that Gregory actually knew Manē before occupying the cave after her death. There Gregory's body remained, unkown to all, until his relics were revealed to Gaṙnik, who buried them in T'ordan, the site of Gregory's tomb already known to the *Buzandaran*. Movsēs does not date this discovery, which *Vs* puts in the reign of Zeno.

The third book of Movsēs' *History* does not give further details about Gregory's life and work, but emphasizes his inheritance. Movsēs begins, III 1, by stating that his own work will end at the "removal of the Arsacid family from the throne, and of the posterity of Saint Gregory from the patriarchate." As already noted, the direct descent of bishops from Gregory, down to the patriarch Sahak in the fifth century, is an important theme from early times. The restoration of the two lines together is the aspiration of writers down the ages, from Łazar [or at least, the author of the Vision of Sahak included in Łazar's *History*] on.[104] Movsēs draws a direct parallel between the miracles in Gołt'n on the occasion of Maštoc' preaching there, when the demons fled in bodily form, and the miracles that occurred in the time of Gregory.[105] More interestingly, in the letters exchanged between the patriarch Sahak and Greek officials, Movsēs has the patriarch of Constantinople, Atticus, commend the love of Gregory for the Greeks.[106] Movsēs frequently extolls the learning of the Greeks as the source of all wisdom, and strongly identifies himself with Greek culture. Gregory's love for the Greeks should probably be interpreted as a reference to the link with Caesarea, the breaking of which after Sahak's death was irrevocable.[107]

Gregory is clearly a significant figure in Movsēs' *History*, but the historian only mentions Agathangelos six times. Most of these references

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104. See also Movsēs Xorenac'i, III 3, 16, 20, 49.

105. Movsēs, III 47, based on Koriwn, 40. See also the adaptation in *Aa*, §780. For the verbatim borrowings in Agathangelos see the Index "Parallels with Koriwn."

106. Movsēs, III, 57.

107. Cf *Buzandaran*, V 29, where Yusik is installed "without the authority of Caesarea." For the break with Caesarea see the Commentary to *Aa* §826.

can be matched with the story in the known Armenian version *Aa*. These are: II 67, the Armenian-Persian wars culminating in Xosrov's murder; II 74, Gregory's career after his rescue following Xosrov's murder; II 79, Trdat's military prowess; II 80, the careers of Gregory's sons; II 83, the tyrants removed from before Constantine.[108] Only one reference to Agathangelos is puzzling. In II 86 Movsēs says that "Agathangelos informs you" about the preaching of Nunē in the north. There is no reference to Nunē in Agathangelos, though as already noted Movsēs has Nunē contact Gregory following the conversion of the Georgian king. The area where she preached corresponds to the area evangelized by Gregory, according to *Aa* §842-843, and here in turn Agathangelos is borrowing from Koriwn. This is the most blatantly misleading citation of "Agathangelos" in Movsēs. Clearly, he is anxious to establish the primacy of Armenian Christianity over the church in Georgia.[109]

On the other hand, without citing any source, Movsēs offers much information which is totally new about Gregory's upbringing in II 80. The origin of the story of his rescue by Sophy and his marriage to Mariam is unknown. But when later Armenian authors refer to Gregory's wife by name, it is to Mariam. Julitta of the *V* recension [*Vg* only] remains unknown to Armenian tradition.

GREGORY AND THE THEOLOGIANS

The Book of Letters

We turn now to a different source for traditions about Gregory—the correspondence between Armenian and foreign ecclesiastics incorporated in the collection known as the *Girk' T'lt'oc'*, "Book of Letters." It is noteworthy that Gregory is not mentioned at all in the letters exchanged between Armenians and Greeks in the fifth century. The first reference to him occurs in a letter dated to 508 following the first council of Dvin,

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108. This comes at the end of a long description of the circumstances preceding Constantine's baptism, which derives from the *Acts of Silvester*. But there is no need to take the reference to Agathangelos here as implying more than the removal of the tyrants.

109. "Georgia" in this connection means the Armenian *Virk'*, Greek *Ibēria*, Georgian *K'art'li*, the eastern part of the much larger area known today as Georgia, *Sak'art'velo*.

sent to the "orthodox" in Persia by Babgēn, *episkoposapet* of Armenia. Following a list of Greek and Roman orthodox authorities Babgēn cites Aristakēs, son of Saint Gregory. The latter was the source of God's love for Armenia. "All these holy fathers professed the same faith, just as we do in accordance with the Virk' and the Ałuank', in each country's script [*gir*]."[110] This is an important reference to the writing system of the Ałuank', which only now is being deciphered from the palimpsests in Saint Catherine's monastery on Mt Sinai.[111]

In the correspondence surrounding the second council of Dvin in 555, in his letter to Armenian bishops catholicos Nersēs refers to the "community, *žołov*, of saint Gregory," i.e. the Armenian hierarchy.[112] Nersēs was succeeded by Yovhannēs II, who when writing to the bishop of Siwnik' refers to Gregory as the "successor, *yaǰord*, of Thaddaeus," and to his labours on behalf of "your country." In a letter to the bishops of Ałuank' the same Yovhannēs notes that "our fathers received the orthodox faith from the scriptures, saint Gregory, and the three blessed councils,"[113] i.e. Nicaea in 325, Constantinople in 381, Ephesus in 431. But in the next item, which is not a letter but a brief treatise on the Epiphany attributed to Yovhannēs, he states that saint Gregory did not separate the festivals of Christmas and Epiphany at Nicaea.[114] This seems to be the first reference to Gregory as arbiter of the Armenian ecclesiastical calendar. Numerous authors will echo the emphasis on celebrating Christ's Nativity and Epiphany on the same day.[115] Thus the "teaching" of saint Gregory, previously used in the general sense of Christian doctrine, expands to include specific aspects of Armenian custom and church practice which are not mentioned in Gregory's sermons in Agathangelos.

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110. *G.T'. I*, 51; *G.T'. II*, 161.

111. See Gippert, Schulze, Aleksidze and Mahé for the texts.

112. *G.T'. I*, 71; *G.T'. II*, 197.

113. *G.T'. I*, 82; *G.T.' II*, 211.

114. *G.T'. I*, 88; *G.T'. II*, 220.

115. E.g. Anania Širakac'i, *I yaytnut'wn Tearn*, or Grigor Aršaruni, IX, 99, who then quotes the *Letter of Macarius* [for which see Terian's edition and commentary]. See also further below.

Not until the seventh century does Gregory feature really prominently in the *Book of Letters*, notably in the arguments exchanged between Armenians and Georgians, *Virk'*, in the christological dispute that led to irrevocable disunion between those two churches.[116] Many of the old ideas continue to be used: the Armenian *locum tenens*, Vrt'anēs, is the "vicar, *tełapah*," of Gregory;[117] Gregory introduced true teaching and the orthodox faith; he spread the orthodox faith through the Caucasus; and the holder of Gregory's throne is successor to Thaddaeus; Gregory's prayers will help confound heretics.[118] But a new idea is also introduced. In a letter from the Georgian catholicos Kiwrion to the famous *marzpan* Smbat Bagratuni it is stated that saint Gregory learned the orthodox faith in Jerusalem.[119] This idea is repeated in a letter from Smbat to the bishop of C'urtaw, and then again in a letter of Catholicos Abraham to Kiwrion.[120] Abraham claims, however, that the Georgians and many of the inhabitants of Jerusalem have gone astray from that faith. In his response Kiwrion denies that they have abandoned the true faith, stating that Armenians and Georgians were united, and that all those under the jurisdiction of saint Gregory were united in the faith of Jerusalem, which the *Hoṙomk'*, i.e. Byzantines, also observed. In a further letter to Kiwrion Abraham refers to Gregory and to Maštoc' who sowed the faith and knowledge of the scriptures in both countries.[121]

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116. The history of these disputes is not our present concern; for the issues involved and a detailed discussion of the correspondence between Armenians, Greeks, Syrians and Georgians see the notable study by Nina Garsoïan, *L'église arménienne et le grand schisme d'Orient*, which includes English translations of the relevant letters.

117. *G.T'. I*, 110; *G.T'. II*, 244.

118. *G.T'. I*, 133; *G.T'. II*, 275.

119. See the correction to *G.T'. I* and *II* from the Georgian version by Aleksidze, and discussion in Garsoïan, *Schisme*, 322, n.101.

120. *G.T'. I*, 174, 176; *G.T'. II*, 332-4.

121. *G.T'. I*, 180; *G.T'. II*, 340. Armenian-Greek unity of faith under the aegis of Gregory is invoked in a letter from the Byzantine commander in Armenia to Vrt'anēs in 604, *G.T'. I*, 90, [= *G.T'. II*, 231].

The influence of the ritual practice of Jerusalem in Armenia as early as the first half of the fifth century is well known.[122] But the idea that Gregory learned the orthodox faith there does not enter the mainstream of Armenian tradition. For example, Sebēos quotes the correspondence in 630 between Modestos, locum tenens of Jerusalem, and Komitas, patriarch of Armenia, regarding financial support for the rebuilding of Jerusalem.[123] No suggestion is made that Gregory was connected with the holy city. Had that idea been known, it would have boosted significantly the appeal for support. Nor is it suggested in the text attributed to Anastas concerning Armenian monasteries in Jerusalem that Gregory learned the faith there. That document, however, is ambiguous. It begins: "During the reign of king Trdat and the patriarchate of saint Gregory the Illuminator the great princes of Armenia built monasteries, *vanorayk'*, in the holy city of Jerusalem." But it concludes: "All of these monasteries were founded by the holy Illuminator, and many more by Nersēs [i.e. Nersēs I]."[124]

One might also note the comment by T'ēodoros Kṙt'enawor, an opponent of Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i writing in the seventh century: "No one should dare to innovate, *jewesc'ē čaṙel*, beyond the theology of Gregory."[125] But T'ēodoros does not indicate whether he is referring to any specific feature or text.

The first edition of the *Girk' T'ł't'oc'* [1901] contains 98 documents,[126] but only the first 56 are in any coherent order, i.e. the fifth century correspondence with the Greeks, the sixth century correspondence with the Syrians, and the early seventh century correspondence with the Georgians and Ałuank'. At the end of that section a colophon asks the reader to pray for the scribe T'umas, his

122. See Renoux, "La croix," and idem, *Le lectionnaire de Jérusalem en Arménie*. See also Terian, *The Letter of Macarius*.

123. Sebēos, 116-121.

124. Garsoïan, "Le témoignage d'Anastas." There is a tradition in the later Panegyrics that Gregory wished to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem from his retreat on Mt Sepuh, but was prevented; see below, 78.

125. T'eodoros, 179.

126. Polarean's later edition omits documents which are not specifically letters, and completes some texts which are incomplete in the first edition.

parents and all his departed relatives.[127] The second half of the book has no such coherence, and the documents cited vary in date down to the thirteenth century. Nor are the dating and authenticity of all the pieces secure. In these texts the authority of Gregory is frequently mentioned; and in addition to the repetition of now traditional themes, some new points are made. These will be discussed in more or less chronological order in order to observe the historian Movsēs Xorenac'i's rule: "There is no true history without chronology."[128]

The last item of the Georgian correspondence is a creed attributed to the catholicos Komitas [610-626]. For the first time the authority of Gregory is claimed for a specific statement of faith, rather than a vague reference to his teaching, *vardapetut'iwn* in a broad sense.[129] Furthermore, this document actually has close parallels with the text known as *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*, that now forms a significant part of the *History* of Agathangelos. Quotations from the *Teaching of Saint Gregory* also appear in the *Knik' Hawatoy*, a catena attributed to the same Komitas.[130] These are the first indications that the text of Agathangelos in the form we now have it had become standardized. Later documents in the *Girk' T'lt'oc'* will also quote from the *Teaching*, and quotations from it will be used to bolster the anti-chalcedonian attitude of most Armenian theologians.

The beginning of the eighth century was a turning point in Armenian history in the sense of the imposition of a more unified and authoritative discipline in the church. This was the work of Yovhannēs Awjnec'i,

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127. *G.T'. I*, 219.

128. Movsēs, II 82.

129. *G.T'. I*, 212; *G.T'. II*, 403: "We believe and confess, just as the worthy St Gregory, patriarch of the holy church of this land of Armenia, taught us." The beginning has the text of the *Teaching*, §362, but the lengthy statement that follows does not appear in the *Teaching* in its entirety. There are Julianist overtones in the wording. This document is studied by Winkler, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 261-267, who gives a detailed comparison with other Armenian documents.

130. These are presented in detail in Thomson, *Teaching II*, 53-54. There is also one quotation in *G.T'. I*, 303, from the *History of Agathangelos*, §850-852; and on p. 18 of the *Knik' Hawatoy* Gregory is named as author of a statement on faith taken from the *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'*. [Note that the quotation from the *Teaching* §491-492 is from p. 258 of the *Knik' Hawatoy*, not pp. 300-302.]

catholicos 717-728.[131] Yovhannēs mentions Gregory several times in his various works. In the "Treatise against the Phantasiasts, *Erewut'akank'*," there are direct quotations from, as well as allusions to, the Armenian text of Agathangelos.[132] There are also direct quotations from Agathangelos in the *Commentary on the Daily Office* by his later contemporary Step'annos of Siwnik'.[133]

In his *Canons* Yovhannēs claims that in the celebration of the liturgy the tradition of Gregory calls for unleavened bread and unadulterated wine.[134] This is further elaborated in a treatise entitled "Of the same lord Yovhannēs Catholicos of the Armenians, against those who corrupt the holy Mystery through leaven and water," in the *Girk' T'łt'oc'*. Gregory had supposedly ordained the use of unleavened bread in the liturgy in his "inspired teaching, *hogepatumn vardapetut'iwn*," where "teaching" refers to the general tradition.[135] As with the celebration of festivals, Armenian ritual practices only attested later are now regularly attributed to the first bishop and illuminator of the country.

The Kanonagirk'

Catholicos Yovhannēs was also responsible for the first codification of Armenian canon law, or at least, the first collected edition of canons.

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131. See Mahé, ch. 3, "Confession religieuse et identité nationale dans l'église arménienne du VIIe au XIe siècle" in Garsoïan and Mahé, *Des Parthes au Califat*, esp. 63-66, and Thomson, *Movsēs Xorenac'i II*, 59-60, for "the codification of traditions and practices that made the Armenians different from others."

132. See *Matenagrut'iwnk'*, 114 = *Aa* §378; 118 = *Aa* §369; 158, "as Gregory said." In the *De Officiis*, *ibid*, 204, Yovhannēs alludes to *Aa* §528-30, 646. In the first *Homily on the foundation of a church*, 260, he refers to Gregory's building of the martyria.

133. See the text in Findikyan, *The Commentary on the Armenian Daily Office*, IV 6, p. 137 = *Aa* §625-9; V 3, p. 138 = *Aa* §645-55, also on p. 209.

134. Yovhannēs, *Matenagrut'iwnk'*, 60, where the blessing of salt for sacrifices is also ascribed to Gregory. On the wine and bread used in the liturgy see below, 60; and for the blessing of salt, Akinean, "T'ułt' Yustosi," and further below, 81.

135. *G.T'. I*, 234-240 [not in *G.T'. II*]. See 237: "Saint Gregory teaches us ... because he says somewhere in his inspired teaching that the showbread carries the symbol, *awrinak*, of Christ." This is not in the *Teaching*.

This included translations of Greek canons as well as original Armenian ones, plus some of dubious origin such as those attributed to Gregory himself and the Catholicos Sahak. Unfortunately, there are problems with the text of the *Kanonagirk'*, the first volume of which ends with Awjnec'i's own canons mentioned above. The recent study by Aram Mardirossian has shown that the text of the canons in this collection had been much adulterated by Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i in the preceding century.[136] Nonetheless, if we take the *Kanonagirk'* as evidence for what was accepted in the time of Yovhannēs Awjnec'i, we do not find any startling new ideas about Gregory. He instituted the feast of John the Baptist, as indeed Agathangelos had described.[137] Other rituals supposedly prescribed by Gregory were allegedly later translated from Greek into Armenian by the catholicos Sahak.[138] Although Agathangelos had said nothing about such matters, he had pretended that he had written his *History* in Greek. It was therefore natural to suppose that anything commanded by Gregory had originally been set down in Greek. More generally, in the Preamble to the Canons of Šahapivan, Gregory, Nersēs [the fourth century patriarch], Sahak and Maštoc' are cited as responsible for the formation of Armenian practice.[139]

The *Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*

Soon after the year 700 a short treatise was composed in Armenian by someone of the pro-chalcedonian persuasion. Its long title runs:

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136. Mardirossian, *Le livre des canons*.

137. *Kanonagirk'*, I, 397, the 40th canon of Sahak; See *Aa* §815 for Aštišat, and §836 for Bagavan.

138. *Kanonagirk'*, I, 402, the 44th canon of Sahak. In a MS of the *Kanonagirk'* dated to 1368, Matenadaran 659, it is claimed that the canons attributed to Sahak were translated from Gregory's Greek text at Sahak's command by Eznik, the famous disciple of Maštoc' and author of a philosophical treatise "On the Freedom of the Will" [for which see above, 27]; see the note on p. 625 in Hakobyan's edition of the *Kanonagirk'* and the colophon in Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaranner*, 2. Mardirossian, *Le livre des canons*, 585, n. 242, takes the ascription to Gregory as an invention by Mayragomec'i. For the ascription to Eznik of a translation of the *History* of Agathangelos see below, 90-92.

139. *Kanonagirk'*, I, 428.

"Narrative from the days of saint Gregory until now concerning the successors of his throne in order ... and the orthodox faith which the Armenians received from Gregory and the synod of Nicaea, but from which they went astray." This text does not survive in the original, but only in a Greek translation of uncertain date, perhaps as late as the eleventh century. The document is now well known by its Latin title *Narratio de Rebus Armeniae* [Account of Armenian affairs]. It begins with the synod of Nicaea, which occurred "in the twentieth year since saint Gregory emerged from the pit." Its prime concern is with the separation of the Greek and Armenian churches, which is taken back to the time when the Armenians no longer sent their primates for ordination to Caesarea, but began consecrating their own chief bishops;[140] and it ends with the failed attempt at reunion in the reign of Justinian II.

The *Narratio* has a particular interest with regard to the Armenian liturgical tradition of using unleavened bread and wine unmixed with water. This practice is described in §102, where the catholicos Movsēs [574-604] notably declared: "I shall not cross the Azat; I shall not eat *furnitarin* [i.e. bread baked in the oven and fermented]; and I shall not drink hot water."[141] Gregory is not associated with that tradition, however, and other than his role in bringing the orthodox faith, *orthē pistis*, to Armenia he plays no further role in the *Narratio*.

The dating of Nicaea to the twentieth year of Gregory's episcopate does not occur in Agathangelos, but is also found in the document "On Councils" attributed to Yovhannēs Awjnec'i.[142] Movsēs Xorenac'i gives

140. For this see the commentary to *Aa* §826.

141. Text in Garitte, *Narratio*, 40, with commentary 242-244. "Azat" here is used in a punning sense; it means "free," but was the name of a small river separating the Greek and Persian sectors, Movsēs being on the Persian side in Dvin while the pro-chalcedonian Yohan was installed on the Greek side in Awan. *Furnitarin* is bread baked in the oven and fermented. [It was this difference that prompted the query to George of the Arabs in 714; see below, 100. It is discussed in Peeters, "Saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur."]. At an earlier date the use of warm bread and undiluted wine is prescribed in the *Letter of Macarius*, ed. Terian, 88, with discussion 133-134. That Gregory ordained unadulterated communion wine and unleaven bread is a persistent feature of Armenian tradition; cf. the thirteenth century theologian Mxit'ar Sasnec'i, *Discourse* VII 3.

142. *Girk' T'lt'oc'*, 220.

the thirtieth year.[143] As for the origins of Armenian Christianity, the *Narratio* notes the activity of Bartholomew, including the tradition that he founded a church at the site of Theodosiopolis. But in line with its pro-Greek attitude, there is no mention of Thaddaeus, though Syrian influence in later times is noted. So despite its great importance for a different attitude to Armenian orthodoxy from the dominant trend, the *Narratio* is of little help in tracing the development of traditions about Gregory, other than giving the date of his release from the pit as twenty years before the council of Nicaea, i.e. 305.

In the second volume of the *Kanonagirk'*, which contains canons collected after the time of Yovhannēs Awjnec'i, further references to Gregory's work are found, though they do not add to what Agathangelos had told us. For example, in the fifth canon of Dvin under catholicos Nersēs Šinoł [641-661], held in 644/5, emphasis is laid on the freedom of the church established by Gregory and king Trdat—i.e. the freedom from taxation.[144] Freedom of the church is one of the key points in Ełišē's account of the revolt against the shah in 450, and the reference in the *Kanonagirk'* to Gregory and Trdat seems to reflect the policy of dedicating lands for the support of each church they founded, as described in Agathangelos. That freedom means freedom from various levies on church property is explained in further detail in canon 9 of the same council. As for tithes payable to the priests of churches, the document entitled *Girawandut'ean*, "Document of tradition," attributed to Sahak states that these were established by Gregory. That same document contains a curious discussion between the sons of the pagan priests, who according to Agathangelos were dedicated to the service of the church, and the king and Gregory. It describes in some detail the means of support due the priests in return for their spiritual duties, details that were certainly not taken from Agathangelos but from later tradition.[145] Later, towards the end of the twelfth century, Mxit'ar Goš in his *Lawcode* also refers to the freedom from tax of the church with its

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143. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 91. On the confused question of dating Gregory's work see above, 48-49.

144. *Kanonagirk'*, II, 204-5.

145. *Kanonagirk'*, II, 230-238: "Document of tradition concerning the order of the ministers of the holy church and the fruits of the congregations offered to the house of God, chapter one."

land and water, for he claims that Gregory and Trdat classified the inheritance of the church in the same category as the households of nobles.[146]

Return to the Book of Letters

Two documents that focus on christological matters, found in the *Girk' T'lt'oc'* but whose dating is disputed, deserve mention here for their references to Gregory. These are the *Exposition of Armenian Theology* attributed to Sahak III, and the letter attributed to Step'annos of Siwnik' entitled *Response to the Letter of the Bishop of Antioch.*[147] The *Exposition* is of importance in that it includes several quotations from the *Teaching*, which are attributed to Gregory the Illuminator's instruction.[148] Of interest is also the discussion of the addition to the *Trisagion* known in Armenian as the *xač'ec'ar*, "[you, who] was crucified [for us]." This innovation by Peter the Fuller, patriarch of Antioch [† 488], is first mentioned in Armenian in the *Girk' T'lt'oc'* in the correspondence in 552-553 between the Syrians and Catholicos Nersēs before the second council of Dvin.[149] The *Exposition* quotes the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus [VI 8], where Socrates describes the hymns composed by John Chrysostom to oppose the Arians. The second Armenian version of Socrates' *History*, that is, not the original close translation but the adaptation of 695/6, adds that the morning chants offered the benediction of the Trinity to the Son.[150] At a later date saint Gregory the Illuminator himself is given the credit for prescribing this phrase in the liturgy. That claim appears in a letter

146. Mxit'ar Goš, *Girk' Datastani*, §208, p. 120.

147. *G.T'. I*, 413-483 [not in *G.T'. II*], for Sahak's *Bac'ayaytut'iwn*; translation and introduction in van Esbroeck, "Le Discours." Van Esbroeck dates this document to 691, but Połarean ascribes it to Sahak Mřut in the ninth century. It is worth noting that the author knows the same etymology of Abgar's name [p. 414] as Movsēs Xorenac'i. Step'annos's *Patasxani t'lt'oyn Antiok'u episkoposi* is in *G.T', I*, 323-334 [= *G.T'. II*, 494-513].

148. *G.T'. I*, 419-420, also 424 and 432-433. Van Esbroeck in his translation gives the precise references to the paragraphs of the *Teaching*.

149. *G.T'. I*, 53, 56 [= *G.T'. II*, 174, 177].

150. Socrates, Armenian text 525; cf. Thomson, *The Armenian Adaptation*, 176.

attributed to Gagik, king of Vaspurakan 908-937, to the emperor Romanos I, 920-944. In that letter the passage from Socrates quoted by Sahak is repeated by Gagik, who adds: "Our holy Illuminator prescribed, *kanoneac'*, the *trisagion* [to be sung] in honour of the Son in the order of the holy liturgy."[151]

The *Letter* of Step'annos is important for the discussion of festivals, not least because it is stressed that the Armenians celebrate the birth and baptism of Christ on the same day, that the *xač'ec'ar* is said of the Son, and not of the Father or the Holy Spirit, and that the *aṙaǰawor* fast is prescribed in the "Book of our Illuminator."[152] The other, more securely authentic letter attributed to Step'annos in the *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, the *Response to Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople*, refers to Gregory as showing the Armenians the "word of life," but not as author of any specific doctrine or ritual.[153]

Correspondence with the Patriarch of Constantinople was dramatically high-lighted in the mid-ninth century with exchanges between Photius, the Armenian catholicos Zak'aria and prince Ašot Bagratuni. It is not surprising that the Greek correspondents show knowledge of Armenian traditions about Gregory, given the existence of Greek versions of Agathangelos; but it does come as a surprise that in connection with these exchanges between the two churches relics of saint Gregory were supposedly discovered in Constantinople. The correspondence with Photius falls into two groups of texts corresponding with the two periods that Photius held the patriarchate of Constantinople. The first set, comprising three texts [Photius to Zak'aria, a Treatise of Vahan, and a Letter by John of Nikē to Zak'aria] falls in Photius's first patriarchate, i.e December 858 to 867, and predates the Armenian council of Širakawan held in 862.[154] The second set [Photius to Ašot and

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151. *G.T'. I*, 298 [= *G.T'. II*, 544].

152. *G.T'. I*, 327, 333 [= *G.T'. II*, 502, 512].

153. *G.T'. I*, 373-395 [= *G.T'. II*, 435-466]. For the similarity of style and vocabulary in this letter with Step'annos's *Commentary on the Daily Office*, see Findikyan, 46, with further bibliographical references to the exchange of letters between Germanos and Armenia.

154. For the council see Maksoudian, "The Chalcedonian Issue and the early Bagratids: the Council of Širakawan." The Letter by John, a treatise on the Nativity of Christ, in which the celebrations of the Birth and the Baptism are ordained on separate days, is not precisely

the response by Sahak Mṙut, and two letters surviving only in Greek by Photius and Nicetas] fall into Photius's second patriarchate, 877 to 886.[155] The details of the debate concerning theology and ritual are not of immediate concern; it is of greater interest here to note what is said specifically about Gregory and his role.[156]

In his Letter to Zak'aria Photius lists Gregory the Illuminator among the Fathers of the church and refers to him as having learned [the faith] in Caesarea. He knows that Aristakēs attended the council of Nicaea at the command of saint Gregory. Having expounded his view of the trinitarian faith Photius states that "the Armenians received this tradition from the great Gregory and saint Aristakēs and the blessed Nersēs, brought from Nicaea and Constantinople." He is wrong that Nersēs [patriarch 353-373] attended the council of Constantinople in 381,[157] but that was a common belief among Armenian historians.[158] And with the words "with Gregory we proclaim" he introduces a long disquisition on the two natures of Christ.[159] Such christological vocabulary would not be

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dated and may postdate the council of Širakawan; see Greenwood, "Failure," 133, but then 148.

155. The two letters by Photius himself exist in Armenian, as do the Treatise of Vahan and Ašot's response to Photius's second letter; the others exist in Greek. For the Armenian texts see Akinean and Tēr-Połosean, "T'ułt' P'otay;" further bibliographical details in Greenwood, "The Failure of a Mission?"

156. See Dorfmann-Lazarev, *Arméniens et Byzantins*, for a discussion of the christological issues and a detailed study of the technical vocabulary. He translates in full only two of the documents, Photius's Letter to Ašot and the response by Sahak Mṙut. See also Greenwood, "Failure of a Mission?," for a general review of the matter and an investigation of the authenticity of Photius's Letter to Zak'aria, which had generally been regarded as a forgery following Garitte's doubts expressed in his edition of the *Narratio*, 370-375. The text describing the discovery of the relics is translated in Greenwood, "The discovery of the relics." By the end of the ninth century "Gregory of Armenia" had been depicted in mosaic in Saint Sophia in Constantinople; see Der Nersessian, "Les portraits." See also the entry "Gregory the Illuminator: Representation in Art," in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, II, 884.

157. For a résumé of Nersēs's career see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 395-396.

158. See Movsēs Xorenac'i, III 33. As patriarch of Constantinople Photius should have known that no Armenian patriarch attended the council in his own see in 381, though the pro-chalcedonian *Narratio*, §13-14, might give that impression: Nersēs was bishop of Armenia at the time of the council of Constantinople. On Photius's motives for reproducing Armenian traditions see Greenwood, "The discovery."

159. Line 361 of the text in Akinean and Tēr-Połosean.

found in the *Teaching of Saint Gregory* or other texts reflecting the earliest Armenian tradition.

Gregory does not appear in the Treatise of Vahan. But in his Letter to Zak‘aria John of Nikē greets the catholicos as "successor, *diadochos*, of the apostle Thaddaeus ... and equal, *synthronos*, of saint Gregory, leader of the house of Torgom and overseer of the regions of Ararat."[160] The document is concerned with the separation of the celebrations of the Birth and Baptism of Christ, which are to be observed on December 25 and January 6 respectively, and not on the same day. John anathematises John Mayragomec‘i in the same breath as Nestorius, Eutyches and Julian [of Halicarnassos] for holding the wrong opinion. More interestingly, John claims that the origin of the error derives from interference by the shah of Iran, who banished the Armenian catholicos Sahak, thus preventing him from responding to John Chrysostom's letter on the subject. Greenwood has pointed out that this may reflect an adaptation of the motives for Sahak's deposition as described in the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac‘i, III 63-64.[161] This indicates knowledge in Byzantium of Armenian historical traditions, also reflected in the account of the discovery of Gregory's relics.[162] On the other hand, Photius's later Letter to Ašot is primarily concerned with the council of Chalcedon, and Gregory is not mentioned at all.

Not surprisingly, it is in the Armenian defence composed for Ašot by Sahak Mṙut that Gregory the Illuminator is quoted verbatim. In a discussion of the technical term *xaṙnumn*, "mixture," to describe the mingling of divine and human in Christ, Sahak introduces a series of quotations that he ascribes to: "The wonder-working man of God and faithful servant, saint Gregory the Illuminator of Armenia."[163] These include passages from the *Teaching*, §369 and 385.[164] The importance of

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160. Greek text in *PG* 96, 1435-1450.

161. Discussion in Greenwood, "Failure of a Mission?" 149-150. Even in Armenian this *History* is not mentioned specifically until T‘ovma Arcruni, writing at the beginning of the tenth century.

162. The text indicates that Rhipsime had been dismembered, as would be known from the Greek versions of Agathangelos.

163. Line 221 of the text in Akinean and Tēr-Połosean.

164. On the importance of the term *xaṙnumn* see the discussion in Thomson, *Teaching II*, 26-32, and Dorfmann-Lazarev, 109-129, "L'union des natures: le 'mélange sans

Gregory as founder of Armenian tradition is expounded in more general terms by Sahak as follows: "This alone we wish to make known to your kind consideration, that from the beginning our wonder-working Father and original teacher, our Illuminator saint Gregory, [established] the orthodox definition of the pure faith in which he instructed this land of Armenia, bringing it from the murky darkness of idolatry to the light of the knowledge of God through his miraculous and wonderful powers, which he carried out through multifarious working of wonders. This I do not think is unknown to Your Eminence, that no heresy was ever anywhere able to enter the land of Armenia, but [the Armenians] remained immovable and unshaken, confirmed in the same pure faith which that saint had built on the apostolic rock. The gates of Hell were never able to prevail against it in accordance with the Lord's saying; until today they have swerved neither to the right nor to the left. Hence there was no need for new teachings or councils in different places of different kinds...."[165]

GREGORY IN LATER WRITERS

Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i

I turn now to Armenian authors of the tenth century, who echo many of the traditions already noted, plus some new points. The catholicos Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i unsurprisingly indicates that Gregory completed the apostolic missions of Bartholomew and Thaddaeus, and he shows familiarity with the life of Gregory as found in Agathangelos, "the able historian."[166] He blames the Georgians for exchanging the apostolic traditions of Gregory, "who had opened for them the luminous gate of the true knowledge of God," for the *Tome* of Leo, "which professes the manhood of Christ."[167] And when recounting Gregory's last days, he gives

confusion'." The passage from the Teaching §385 is also quoted in Gagik's Letter to Romanos; see n. 151 just above.

165. Lines 296ff. of the text in Akinean and Tēr-Połosean.

166. Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i, 37, VIII 2 [pages of the Armenian text, and Maksoudian's chapter divisions].

167. *Ibid*, 71, XVII 12.

an eyewitness account of the site, the cave of Manē, and of the ash-tree planted by Gregory himself at T'ordan. Being much interested in relics, Yovhannēs took a twig from the ash-tree which Gregory had planted, and earth from the site where his body had been discovered.[168] He also gives new details of the actual relics of Gregory. His skull was preserved in the church at Xor Virap, while his staff and portable altar were kept in a church in Joroy vank', in the region of Lake Van.[169] As catholicos, Yovhannēs had a keen sense of ecclesiastical rights, and although he does not refer to the freedom of the church from taxation, he does note the property of the house of the catholicos. When describing the consecration to the patriarchal throne in 728 of Dawit', who came from Aramonk' in Kotayk', he even claims that the original edict of Trdat bequeathing that village to saint Gregory *before* his tortures was extant.[170] He calls it a *yetkar včran. Včir*, "decree or decision," is common in Armenian; but *yetkar*, Persian *yadgar*, meaning "letter, or document," is not attested before Sebēos.

T'ovma Arcruni

We learn more about relics from T'ovma Arcruni. The church at Joroy vank' he identifies as a martyrium to the holy Rhip'simeank', built by saint Gregory. Here, in addition to the staff and altar mentioned by Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i, were kept Gregory's ring and the girdle of "his diligent waist."[171] The Continuator to T'ovma notes that Rhipsime's slippers, her scarf tinged with holy blood, the arm of the young martyr Abdlmseh, many other relics of martyrs, and also the sign of the Lord's Cross on which was a drop of life-giving blood, were kept there as well.[172] T'ovma compares the torments of the martyred Grigor Arcruni, who lived among ferocious beasts in human form before dying in 856, to Gregory's living among the

168. *Ibid*, 286-287, LV 7-19.

169. *Ibid*, 83-84, XIX 15-18; 181, XXXVI 1.

170. *Ibid*, 104-105, XXIII 1-2.

171. T'ovma, 63. The church is mentioned again on p. 214: it was built at the completion of the conversion of Armenia on the site of temples of Vaheavahan [*sic*].

172. *Ibid*, 310.

snakes; and he quotes Gregory as saying: "My habitation was among snakes, and they twined themselves around my limbs;" this is not a direct quotation, but a fair paraphrase of *Aa* §233.[173] Otherwise, T'ovma does not add much to the picture already formed.

Pseudo-Šapuh

Also associated with the Arcruni family is the curious work known as "Pseudo-Šapuh Bagratuni," a misnomer if ever there was, for the text is a compilation of legends primarily concerning the Arcruni family. Its compiler is much interested in the recovery of the Cross by the emperor Heraclius, but he has nothing to say specifically about Gregory, save that the emperor is credited with saying to the princess of Siwnik': "Blessed is the see, *vičak*, of the Illuminator, saint Gregory."[174]

Yovhannēs Mamikonean/Zenob

Two other texts of the late tenth century, however, do offer new material: the *History* of Uxtanēs and that of Yovhannēs Mamikonean, or Zenob. The latter was primarily interested in the origins of the monastery of Glak in Taron, and much of his apocryphal material, such as the letters between Gregory and Bishop Łewond of Caesarea, did not enter the mainstream of Armenian tradition. He notes that Agathangelos did not mention all the details of Gregory's life, so fills in a few gaps.[175] Gregory's prebaptismal name was Anakšat Surēn. That the family came from the Surēn branch of the Pahlavids was standard Armenian

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173. *Ibid*, 161.

174. *Patmut'iwn ananun zruc'agri*, 65. The emperor Heraclius is credited with building a church over Gregory's tomb in the Syriac version of Agathangelos, *Vs*; see above, 24, and cf. also above, 14, regarding the "king of Tabriz." The *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni remains lost.

175. Yovhannēs Mamikonean, 65.

knowledge, but Anakšat is not otherwise attested.[176] Gregory's brother, the infant who was taken to Persia when Gregory went to Greek territory on Anak's death, he calls Surēn.[177] Names are given to the assistants who joined Gregory at Sebaste on his return from ordination.[178] And the fast which Gregory imposed on his emergence from the pit is the origin of the pre-Lenten Armenian fast known as *Aṙaǰawork'*.[179]

Uxtanēs

Uxtanēs' work originally had three parts, but the last, "On the *Cad*," i.e. pro-chalcedonian Armenians, is lost. In the first part, which runs from Armenia's origins to the reign of king Trdat, Uxtanēs acknowledges "the historian," i.e. Movsēs Xorenac'i, for the story of Gregory's conception over the grave of Thaddaeus and his upbringing by Burdar and Sophy. He adds from Yovhannēs Mamikonean that Anak's wife was called Oguhi and quotes that *History* for details about the later career of Gregory's brother, Surēn. On the other hand, Uxtanēs does not name Gregory's wife.

The major innovation found in Uxtanēs concerns the visit to the emperor Constantine, of which he offers two accounts. The first is close to Agathangelos, though Uxtanēs adds that Gregory took his son Aristakēs and also the bishop Albianos on the journey to Rome.[180] The second account is taken from Zenob, from which we learn that Gregory received relics of the apostles Peter and Paul plus the left hand of saint Andrew. Uxtanēs omits Zenob's reference to relics of Luke.[181] In the second part of

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176. Gregory was descended from the Surenean branch of the Pahlavid family; see Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 27. In Pahlavi "Šat" means "happy, joyful,"and "Anak" "evil;" but how to interpret the name I leave to the linguists.

177. *Ibid*, 70. Yovhannēs adds to the account in Movsēs Xorenac'i, stating that Anak's wife was called Oguhi.

178. Yovhannēs Mamikonean, 78; cf. *Aa*, §806.

179. This was widely accepted in Armenian tradition; see above *re* the Letter of Step'annos. Uxtanēs, I 66, claims that the same fast was instituted by Silvester in Rome. Cf. also the *Letter* of Xac'ik below, 72.

180. Uxtanēs, I 73.

181. *Idem*, I §74.

his *History* Uxtanēs also refers to a relic of the True Cross which Gregory brought back from Rome.[182] That second part is a retelling of the separation of the Armenian and Georgian churches at the turn of the sixth/seventh centuries with extensive quotations from the letters found in the *Girk' T'łt'oc'*.[183] Uxtanēs emphasises the concordance of Gregory's teaching with the faith of Jerusalem.[184]

Movsēs Dasxuranc'i

A totally new aspect of the conversion of the Caucasus is introduced in the *History of the Land of the Ałuank'* by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i [or K'ałankatuac'i]. Although the Ałuank' had an individual script for their own language, examples of which are only now being deciphered from palimpsests,[185] Armenian predominated as the literary medium. This *History* by Movsēs has a great deal to say about Gregory, but for the Ałuank' he was not their original apostle. According to the local tradition reported by Movsēs, Christianity was brought to the north-east by a disciple of Thaddaeus called Elisaeus. After the martyrdom of Thaddaeus at the hands of the Armenian king Sanatruk [to which the *Buzandaran* and Movsēs Xorenac'i refer], this Ałuan account has Elisaeus return to Jerusalem for ordination by James the brother of the Lord. Coming back to Ałuank' he founded a church at Gis, but was martyred.[186] Only much later was the king of Ałuank', Uṙnayr, converted by Saint Gregory the Illuminator. After Gregory's death the Ałuank' voluntarily accepted his grandson Grigoris as Catholicos, the worthy heir of saint Gregory.[187] Although at the beginning of his *History* Movsēs Dasxuranc'i says

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182. See Uxtanēs, II 38, for a long list of sacred objects in the treasury of the Catholicos in addition to these relics.

183. See Mahé, "La rupture arméno-géorgienne" for a discussion of the reworking of the correspondence in Uxtanēs.

184. Uxtanēs, II 47, 52, 59.

185. See above, 54. The invention of the Ałuan script is attributed to Maštoc' by Koriwn, 68-72, as a preliminary to his missionary activity there.

186. Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, I 6.

187. *Idem*, I 9.

nothing about a Christian community succeeding the martyred Elisaeus, in the third Book he states twice that the Ałuan Catholicoi continued to be consecrated in Jerusalem down to the time of Gregory.[188]

Movsēs gives a résumé of the life of Gregory the Illuminator based on Agathangelos, including quotations from the text. But he adds that before consecrating Vrt‘anēs, Gregory went to Virk‘ and Ałuank‘ and converted those lands.[189] Although Agathangelos does not specifically claim this, the Armenian text describing Gregory's missionary journeys as far as the gate of the Alans and the borders of the Massagetae could reasonably be interpreted in that sense.[190]

More interesting is the tale that at a feast Šapuh II [shah 309-379] indicated a desire to know more about the ancestry and rankings of the Armenian nobility. So the Armenian princes brought a copy of the *History of Agathangelos*, which Šapuh ordered to be translated into Persian. When the shah saw that it began with a reference to his own ancestor Artašir, he was greatly affected, and rearranged the seating of the nobles in accordance with a reference in Agathangelos to seventeen cushions, or ranks.[191] In Sebēos, the Letter of the Armenian bishops had referred to the production of the *Book of Saint Gregory* at a debate before the shah.[192] Movsēs Dasxuranc‘i's specific interest in the relationship of Pahlavids and Parthians, however, is more reminiscent of the story of Artašir and Artavan.[193]

Movsēs notes that when the relics of saint Gregory were brought to Vałaršapat from T‘ordan, his jawbone went to Ałuank‘.[194] He is also

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188. *Idem*, III 8, 23.

189. *Idem*, I 14.

190. *Aa* §842.

191. Movsēs Dasxuranc‘i, II 1. But there is no reference in Agathangelos to 17 cushions.

192. See above, 45-46. But in Sebēos the *Book of Gregory* is produced in a debate about church councils, not one about the order of precedence at court. For such lists of precedence see Adontz/Garsoïan, *Appendix* III.

193. See above, 14. Although in the Agathangelos cycle the Romance survives only in the Greek manuscript in Florence, Artavan and Artašir are mentioned in the first sentence of the *History* after the Prologue.

194. Movsēs Dasxuranc‘i, II 38. This is the first reference to Gregory's relics in the church which Nersēs II had reconstructed. Sebēos, 121, refers to Nersēs' work, but does not refer to

familiar with the tradition that the holy oil was blessed by the relic of Gregory's right arm, and he attacks the false tradition that the Armenians had to receive that chrism from Caesarea until the break after Chalcedon.[195] As for the faith of Saint Gregory, like most Armenian writers Movsēs emphasises that it was in accordance with the orthodox faith of the first three councils, and he attacks the "Jewish" *Tome* of Leo.[196] But he has no reference to specific matters of ritual that supposedly derived directly from Gregory's teaching.

Step'annos of Taron [Asołik]

At the turn of the tenth/eleventh centuries Step'annos of Taron, known as Asołik, gives a brief resumé of early Armenian history before his more detailed description of the tenth century. He begins by listing his predecessors as historians, starting with Agathangelos. To the latter's description of Gregory Asołik adds the later tradition of his conception over the grave of Thaddaeus and his rescue by Sophy.[197] He notes the institution of the extra five days' fast known as *Aṙajawork'* based on the fast before Gregory's sixty days of instruction, and reports the discovery of the Illuminator's relics. From Sebēos he takes the story of the presentation of the *History of Saint Gregory* at the shah's debate.[198] He contrasts the faith of Gregory with that of Chalcedon, and more importantly he includes the long letter sent by the catholicos Xač'ik

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Gregory's relics in that connection; see further van Esbroeck, "Témoignages littéraires," 406-411.

195. *Idem*, III 19.

196. *Idem*, II 7. This chapter is simply a copy of the letter sent to the bishops of Ałuank' by the catholicos Yovhannēs II [557-574] quoted in the *Girk' T'łt'oc' I*, 81-84 [= *G.T'. II*, 210-214].

197. Asołik, I 44.

198. *Idem*, II 1-2.

[973-992] to the metropolitan of Melitene, which is also included in the *Girk' T'lt'oc'*.[199]

The letter of Catholicos Xač'ik to the metropolitan of Melitene, a lengthy technical treatise on Christology, has much in common with the letter attributed to Step'annos of Siwnik', *Response to the Letter of the bishop of Antioch,* notably the common use of blocks of patristic citations.[200] The author refers to "us Armenians" as being unskilled in Platonic learning; yet through the grace of the holy Spirit "we have in ourselves the teaching of the holy apostles and prophets with the life-bringing gospel of Christ, the holy and ecumenical confession and faith of the three councils, and the teaching of saint Gregory, which is the pillar and foundation of the truth." Later he claims that in the see, *vičak*, of saint Gregory "none of the other sects [i.e. the Nestorians and their ilk] have ever appeared; because although our sheepfold is small, yet it has not been ravaged by wolves through the power of our hope in Jesus Christ." This may well be a reference to Gregory's vision. But Xač'ik does not attribute any specific tradition to Gregory.[201]

Grigor Narekac'i

More or less contemporary with Step'annos of Taron [Asołik] was the great mystical poet Gregory of Narek, who refers to Gregory quite often. Not by name, however, in his most famous work, the *Matean Ołbergut'ean*. There no Christian heroes are cited; the exemplars are biblical figures.[202] But in his *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, which for Grigor Narekac'i was the model *par excellence* of divine love, he frequently cites the words of

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199. *Idem*, III 21; cf. *G.T'. I*, 302-322 [= *G.T'. II*, 550-593]. The Letter was written at Xač'ik's order by Samuēl Kamrǰajorec'i; see Dorfmann-Lazarev, *Arméniens et Byzantins*, 248, with further references.

200. *G.T'. I*, 323-334 [*G.T'. II*, 494-514]. On the patristic citations see Dedurand, "Citations patristiques;" for those of Athanasius in particular, Thomson, "The Transformation of Athanasius," esp. 63-64.

201. *G.T'. I*, 303, 306 [= *G.T'*, *II*, 552, 555].

202. See the translation by the Mahés [2000] for a detailed commentary on this notable collection of 95 prayers; and the Acts of the 2005 conference, *Saint Grégoire de Narek*, for more general studies.

"the holy Illuminator," sometimes from the *Teaching*, sometimes from the *Yačaxapatum* collection, and sometimes from Gregory's exchanges with king Trdat as reported in the *History* of Agathangelos.[203] And in Narekac'i's *Hymn to Saint Gregory*, although Agathangelos is not named, the latter's *History* provides the connecting thread for the evocation of Gregory's life and the blessings he brought to Armenia.[204]

Grigor Magistros

Another Gregory, Grigor Magistros of the Pahlavuni family, a notable savant and administrator, has left a collection of letters of great interest for the culture of eleventh century Armenia and relations with Byzantium. These letters still await a critical edition and full study, for the complexity of his style has discouraged many an Armenist.[205] But for the history of the reception of traditions about saint Gregory the Illuminator, this Grigor has little to offer, with one exception: there are many invocations of the prayers of Saint Gregory, whom Grigor places among the apostles and martyrs.[206] As already noted, Agathangelos himself is uncertain about the number of years Gregory spent in the pit. Grigor Magistros refers to 13 years, but among other authors one could find as many witnesses to that number as to 15. The only deviation from Agathangelos' account of Gregory's life is that Grigor Magistros refers to the building of churches after Gregory's return from Hṙom, whereas the versions of Agathangelos place this activity before the visit to

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203. Ervine has identified the quotations and allusions in her translation of Gregory's commentary, *The Blessing of Blessings*; see pp. 83, 105, 106, 111, 120-121, 123, 151, 156, 167 (bis), 177, 187, 193, 201-2. It is noteworthy that the *Teaching* is not identified as such, whereas the *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* are identified as Gregory's composition [120-121; and also cited without title 167, 177].

204. *Taler*, 173-183; translation in Terian, *Patriotism*, 165-171. In his Hymn on the Holy Cross, *K'aroz i surb xač'n astuacěnkal*, Gregory of Narek emphasises the "confessional tradition, *xostovołakan dawanut'iwn,*" of "Saint Gregory the Illuminator of us Armenians, *srboyn Grigori Hayastaneayc's lusaworč'i*;" see *Taler*, 218.

205. Only a few of the letters have been translated; see the entries s.v. Grigor Magistros in Thomson, *Bibliography* and "Supplement."

206. Magistros, *T'łt'erě*, 36, 67, 158-159, 167; among the apostles and martyrs, 191.

Constantine. Magistros, however, may here have in mind not the visit to Constantine in Rome by Gregory in the company of king Trdat, but rather the tradition that Gregory was actually consecrated in Rome, rather than in Caesarea. This idea, attested also in a letter from catholicos Grigor IV,[207] may have been sponsored by the Pahlavuni family; it was certainly not an ancient tradition.

Aristakēs Lastivertc'i and Matt'ēos Uṙhayec'i

One does not find anything new in the historians Aristakēs Lastivertc'i or Matt'ēos of Edessa. Both stress that the Armenian patriarchate is the throne, or see, of Gregory, and Matthew adds that the Armenian church is founded on the tribulations of Thaddaeus, Bartholomew and Gregory. Aristakēs refers to the latter's fifteen years of captivity, and recalls his vision of lambs turning into wolves, which he applies to his own times.[208] This seems to be the first time an Armenian writer applied Gregory's vision to contemporary conditions. Otherwise, Gregory plays little role in those *Histories*.

Nersēs Šnorhali

The poet and theologian Nersēs Šnorhali [catholicos 1166-1173] repeats many of the traditional views about Gregory, but has a few surprising innovations. In his poems on Gregory and the Rhipsimeank' he generally follows the story as known from the Armenian Agathangelos. But for the first time the sixty days of Gregory's instruction are explained symbolically with reference to the six ages, *dar*. The theme of the six ages, to be followed by the seventh eternal age, is an important theme in the *Teaching of Saint Gregory*, but this seems to be the first such interpretation put on the number sixty with reference to

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207. See below, 76.

208. Aristakēs, 121. For later texts making the parallels see, for example, Nersēs Lambronac'i, below, 77, and Yovhannēs Erznkac'i, below, 78. [In his French translation of Aristakēs Berbérian omits this section (and others), noting in his Preface that such passages of a theological character have no great interest for the historian!]

Gregory's instruction.[209] It is in his *Letters*, however, that Nersēs emphasises the institution of rituals by Gregory himself, and introduces some new themes. The celebration of the baptism and birth of Jesus Christ on the same day, the pre-Lenten fast, and the use of pure wine in the liturgy, with no water added, are Armenian practices that were already associated with Gregory's "teaching,"[210] Šnorhali also defends the Armenian practice of *matal* as having Gregory's authority,[211] and the use of Gregory's right hand in the ordination of bishops.[212]

Included in the collection of Šnorhali's letters is an exchange between the vardapets of Hałbat and Sanahin and Grigor IV [Tłay, catholicos 1173-1193]. In his response Grigor states that Gregory received ordination from Silvester in Rome after going to Caesarea.[213] Grigor Magistros had already hinted at Gregory's consecration in Rome without mentioning the Pope's name. Originally, Agathangelos had indicated that it was Eusebius of Rome who welcomed the Armenians, but Eusebius was soon confused with his more famous successor, Silvester [pope 314-335]. According to the later *Dašanc' T'ułt'*, "Letter of pact," Gregory was already catholicos when he came to Rome, but Silvester created him autocephalous patriarch of Armenia with authority to ordain the catholicoi of Georgia and Ałuank'.[214] Apart from the apocalyptic ideas connected with the pact between Constantine and Trdat, which feature prominently in the next century, this supposed link with Rome points to the desire of the Armenian catholicoi to forget the connection of their see

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209. Šnorhali, *Tałer*, 258 [no. 94]. Cf. the *Teaching*, esp. §668-671.

210. See above, 54, 60, etc. In his *Theological Discourses* of a later date Mxit'ar Sasnec'i notes that Nersēs Šnorhali drew on the tradition of Gregory the Illuminator for this practice; VII 5, cf. also VII 3. He also refers to the intercession of Gregory, mentioned as early as Łazar.

211. Šnorhali, *Ĕndhanrakan T'ułt'k'*, 252-256. For the Armenian practice of *Matał* [lit. "young"], i.e. animal sacrifice, see Sharf, "Animal Sacrifice," and Conybeare, "The Survival;" texts in Conybeare, *Rituale*, 54-85.

212. *Ĕndhanrakan T'ułt'k'*, 219.

213. *Ĕndhanrakan T'ułt'k'*, 322. For Silvester see further below, 81.

214. See below for the *Dašanc' T'ułt'*, also known as the "Letter of Love and Concord."

with Caesarea, and to emphasise autocephaly from its origin, now that they were in direct contact with the Roman church and the Crusaders.[215]

Nersēs Lambronac'i

Nersēs of Lambron, namesake of Nersēs Šnorhali and son of his niece, refers to Gregory only rarely. In his *Synodical Oration*, *atenabanut'iwn*, delivered at the synod of Hromklay in 1179, both Christology and differences of ritual between Greeks and Armenians are discussed at some length. Gregory the Illuminator, however, is never quoted as an authority. Nersēs' only explicit reference to the Gregory story is to the vision--not the founding of the martyria at Vałaršapat, but the parable of the flocks that changed colour. This Nersēs sees as foretelling the division of Christendom.[216] As for his biblical commentaries on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, they contain no reference to Gregory;[217] nor does the *Commentary on the Liturgy*.

The Historians of Ani

Gregory the Illuminator appears in the chronographical works of three authors associated with Ani: Yovhannēs Sarkawag, Samuēl, and Mxit'ar. Yovhannēs gives him no special prominence. Samuēl is interested in dating: Gregory was thrown into the pit in the year 291 [from the birth of Christ]; he emerged in 300, the year the Rhipsimeank' were martyred; in 306 he "sat on the throne of Thaddaeus in the 17th year of Trdat;" in 332

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215. See Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier*, 167. In this study Halfter gives a detailed account of Armenian relations with Rome from the earliest times to the inauguration of the Cilician monarchy. For the Roman origin of Armenian Christianity see also the tradition preserved in Ełišē, above, 39-40, though Gregory is not there mentioned. There were also contacts between the Pope and Gregory III [catholicos 1113-1166]; see Schmidt-Halfter, "Der Brief Papst Innozenz' II." An Armenian presence in Rome is attested very much earlier, though such Armenians were chalcedonian rather than "Gregorian;" see Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome*, esp. I, 9-51.

216. *Atenabanut'iwn*, 40.

217. The Commentary on the Psalms remains unpublished.

he retired to the cave of Manē, and was seen no more after Aristakēs returned from Nicaea; and in 498 Gaṙnik found his relics and buried them at T'ordan.[218]

Mxit'ar does expand a little on Gregory's ancestry, noting that both Gregory and Trdat were from the stock of Abraham through his wife Ketura, echoing Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 1.[219] Although dated later than Mxit'ar, the so-called *History of Ani,* printed after Mxit'ar's own *History*, adds one amusing anecdote to the traditions surrounding Gregory. A paralytic prince refused baptism at Ani, when Gregory was baptizing the other Armenians. He was, however, persuaded by a "transformed, *aylap'oxeal,*" Gregory, who rolled down, fell into the water opposite the citadel, and emerged healed![220]

The Panegyrics

In the various Panegyrics on Saint Gregory of the 12th and 13th centuries a number of novelties are found. Yovhannēs Sarkawag compares Gregory to Moses, perhaps in direct reminiscence of Koriwn's comparison of Maštoc' with Moses.[221] More significantly, Vardan Arewelc'i reports that before his death Gregory wished to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but was prevented by angels sent from God.[222] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz hints at the same idea.[223] However, this new interest in Jerusalem reflects not a continuation of the idea that Gregory learned the orthodox faith in Jerusalem, which is not repeated after the seventh-century letters mentioned above, but rather the development of traditions surrounding the visit of Gregory and Trdat to Constantine in

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218. *Hawakmunk'*, 63-64, 72. Cf. the various dates for Gregory and his work above, 48.

219. Mxit'ar, *Matean*, 76; he adds that Abgar was Trdat's great-grandfather, *naxahaw*, which is not in Movsēs.

220. *Ibid*, 107.

221. See the lengthy quotation in Terian, *Patriotism*, 172-174.

222. *Ibid*, 177-179; see further below, 81.

223. *Ibid*, 129-130, n. 7. Erznkac'i also echoes the wording of Gregory's vision in his description of present evil times, 189-190.

Rome, which was suposedly followed by a visit to Jerusalem and the allocation of holy sites between them. Vardan and his contemporary Kirakos Ganjakec'i devote much attention to new ideas concerning the visit to Rome, to which we now turn.

GREGORY AND APOCALYPTIC THEMES

In the twelfth century the interpretation of earlier visions, supposedly revealed to famous Armenian figures of the past concerning future events, becomes increasingly popular.[224] The *Apocalypse* attributed to Methodius exercised a significant influence in this regard, though no complete Armenian translation of that particular text is known.[225] Although predictions of future deliverance from oppressive invaders feature in the *History* of Matthew of Edessa [Matt'ēos Uṙhayec'i],[226] the first association of Gregory himself with such themes occurs in the text known as *Sermo de Antichristo* attributed to Epiphanius. Influenced by apocalyptic ideas about the last things, the author expands on the old Armenian tradition of the encounter between the emperor Constantine and king Trdat in "Rome," when in the company of the bishop of Rome and Saint Gregory the two monarchs made a treaty of friendship.

224. Gregory's own vision in Agathangelos could be interpreted as an early example of apocalyptic themes in this sense; see the commentary to §754.

225. There is an extensive quotation in the *History* of Step'annos Orbelean, ch. 32. The "Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius" was originally composed in Syriac after the Muslim expansion; it looks forward to the defeat of the Arabs at the hands of the Byzantines, and was soon translated into Greek and Latin. See the edition by Reinink, s.v. *Syriac Texts*.

226. For Matthew's use of prophecy and apocalyptic ideas see Thomson, "The Crusaders through Armenian Eyes," and MacEvitt, "The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa: Apocalypse, the First Crusade, and the Armenian Diaspora." In general see Garsoïan, "Reality and Myth." For the echo of such ideas after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 see Sanjian, "Two contemporary Armenian Elegies."

Pseudo-Epiphanius and the Dašanc' T'ult'

This pact had been cited by Łazar, Sebēos and other early Armenian historians, though not Movsēs Xorenac'i.[227] But dramatic new ideas are now introduced. Following the visit to Rome, the kings and the two bishops go to Jerusalem, where they divided the holy places between them. Later texts will describe the specific sites,[228] but Pseudo-Epiphanius gives no details of them. The *Sermo de Antichristo* indicates that on a wider scale Constantine and Trdat agree to share secular power. The text looks forward to the restoration of the lines of Trdat and of Gregory, so that a future Pope will ordain a future Gregory. After the defeat of the infidels Armenians and Romans will join each other in Jerusalem again, and a service of the Holy Cross will be celebrated at Golgotha by three choirs, of Franks, Armenians and Greeks, as the new Trdat is crowned. None of this appears in Agathangelos, but it is worth noting that in Pseudo-Epiphanius it is stated that Constantine summoned Trdat on hearing of his miraculous conversion, which is a feature of the *V* recension and runs counter to the standard Armenian version. The *Sermo de Antichristo* ends with the arrival of Antichrist, who will be destroyed before the Second Coming, but the author does not know the time of those last things.

Vardan Arewelc'i

Such apocalyptic ideas were taken up by Vardan Arewelc'i, though not in his *Chronicle* [lit. *Historical Compilation*], written circa 1270. In addition to this *Chronicle*, a *Geography*, and a *Grammar*, Vardan was a prolific composer of biblical commentaries and religious poetry.[229] The interest of the *Chronicle* is that Vardan takes his descriptions of events

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227. See Thomson, "Constantine and Trdat," for the development of the tradition. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 84, states: "Trdat went to Rome to saint Constantine," but he does not mention the pact, Gregory, or Silvester in that particular connection.

228. The most elaborate account is found in the *Dašanc' T'ult'*, on which see Halfter, "Constantinus Novus," Shirinian, "The Letter of Love and Concord," and Pogossian, "Armenians and the IV Crusade."

229. For a general study of Vardan's life and work see Ant'abyan, *Vardan Arevelc'i.*

from a variety of earlier sources [without acknowledgement of the source, as is usual in Armenian authors], and combines them to make a new narrative. For the tale of Gregory's birth and upbringing he relies on Movsēs Xorenac'i and Zenob. Like Movsēs, Vardan states that Gregory married Mariam, daughter of David; and following Zenob he repeats that "some say" Gregory had a brother named Jacob *zgon*,[230] though the latter was, says Vardan, actually the son of Anak's sister Xosrovuhi. More surprisingly, when discussing the relics that Gregory brought back from Caesarea after his consecration, Vardan states that "they say" Athenogenes was the brother of Gregory's wife Mariam.[231] Vardan expands on the account of the visit to Constantine, claiming that Gregory on that occasion blessed the salt which was to be offered, and sent it throughout the world with orders that without it animals should not be sacrificed.[232] But although like Movsēs, and unlike Agathangelos, Vardan names the bishop of Rome as Silvester, in his *Chronicle* Vardan says nothing about the holy places or the division of authority between Constantine and Trdat. He adds, however, that the pact between the two kings and their bishops was confirmed by dipping the text into the "awesome mystery" [i.e. communion wine].[233]

On the other hand, in his *Panegyric on Gregory* Vardan does make reference to the visit to Jerusalem of Constantine and Trdat with Gregory and Silvester. Furthermore, he states that Gregory was consecrated a second time during the visit to Rome.[234] As for the visit to Jerusalem by the two kings and two popes [!], he adds almost as an afterthought: "Furthermore, they say" that Gregory acquired the *snark'* [of Christ's

230. Vardan, *Hawak'umn*, 37. *Zgon*, "sage," is a title applied to Jacob of Nisibis in Armenian tradition.

231. *Ibid*, 39.

232. For salt in connection with animal sacrifice, *matał*, see Sharf, "Animal Sacrifice," 426, 448; Akinean, "T'ult' Yustosi," discusses the attribution of the blessing of the salt to Gregory.

233. *Ibid*, 40. According to Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i, *Patmut'iwn*, 284, communion wine was used for the ink.

234. *Nerbołean*, 65.

tomb],[235] Golgotha, and the churches of John the Baptist and St James. He also explains at some length why Gregory was called "illuminator," emphasing his giving the light of God's grace, but not associating the title with baptism or with the holy fire at Jerusalem.[236]

Yovhannēs Vanakan

The association of illumination with the holy fire appears in the last document of the *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, the *Ban hawatali* of Yovhannēs Vanakan vardapet, the teacher of Vardan and Kirakos, who died after 1251. By now the traditions enshrined in the "Letter of Concord, *Dašanc' T'ułt'*," had become common currency. According to Vanakan, in the division of the holy sites in Jerusalem Gregory acquired the Anastasis, and he was called "illuminator, *lusaworič'*," because of the holy fire.[237] Earlier texts emphasise the illumination of Armenia by baptism, in accordance with the Christian meaning of illumination, *phōtismos* in Greek. Indeed, in Georgian baptism is rendered by "the giving of light," not some expression involving "dipping," or "washing," as in Greek *baptizō*, Syriac *'md*, or Armenian *mkrtel*.[238] In Armenia "illumination" would have a resonance on several registers: Agathangelos stresses not only Gregory's baptizing of the Armenians, but also his bringing them from darkness to the light of the true worship of God. In addition, illumination would have overtones in the Zoroastrian context of pre-Christian Armenia.[239]

Vardan is also interested in Gregory's relics. Repeating the story of their discovery in the time of the emperor Zeno, he claims that they were kept hidden at T'ordan and that the relics of a different Gregory, a bishop

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235. *Snark'*: "head" or "pillow." In the church of the Holy Sepulchre it refers to that part of Christ's tomb where the head rested. I am grateful to Sergio LaPorta and Fr. Pakrad Burjekian for this precise information.

236. Vardan, *Nerbołean*, 78.

237. *Ban hawatali*, in *G.T'. I*, 533-535 [not in *G.T'. II*]. But on the disputed authorship of this text see Mut'afean, "Ban hawatali."

238. For the etymology of *mkrtel* see Bailey, "Iranian *mktk*."

239. See Russell, "The Credal Poem," note 1. For Zoroastrian overtones involving light and fire in Gregory's vision see §734 and Hultgård, "Change and Continuity."

of Aršarunik‘, were handed to the Roman emperor.[240] Later on, Nersēs of Tayk‘ [catholicos 641-661] built a church above the pit where Gregory had been incarcerated, and placed there most of Gregory's relics; the head he kept separately for use in healing. This is based on Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc‘i. But Vardan adds that the relics of Gregory were brought from Constantinople in secret by Grigor Mamikonean.[241] As for Gregory's height, "they say" it was nine palms, and that of Trdat eleven palms.[242]

Kirakos Ganjakec‘i

Vardan's contemporary and fellow pupil of Vanakan vardapet, Kirakos of Ganjak, composed a more elaborate *History* than did Vardan [despite its title "*An Abbreviated History of the Times from Saint Gregory down to the Latest Days*"]. Like many of the later Armenian historians Kirakos lists his predecessors, starting with the Greek writers of ecclesiastical history, Eusebius and Socrates, then turning to Agathangelos, "which means good angel,"[243] Movsēs Xorenac‘i, and successive writers. Although Kirakos deals primarily with the Mongol period, he places a long section on the Armenian church at the beginning, in which he has much to say about Gregory. He begins with the visit to Constantine, which he places after Gregory had consecrated "more than 430 bishops." He emphasizes the relics given to Gregory by Constantine and Silvester in Rome, where he was adorned with the title of "patriarch, *hayrapet*, as a vicar [or "successor," *at‘ořakal*] of Peter." In Jerusalem Gregory received Golgotha, the church of Saint James, and a place [to

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240. Vardan, *Chronicle*, 41.

241. *Ibid*, 67; cf. Movsēs Drasxanakertc‘i, 82-83. Since Grigor Mamikonean was a noted seventh century prince, famous for his sponsorship of churches, this late tradition concerning Gregory's relics seems to be a doublet of the ninth century tale associated with the exchange of letters between Photius and the Armenians; see above, 63.

242. Vardan, *Chronicle*, 61. In the text translated by Greenwood, "The discovery," describing the ninth-century discovery of the relics of Gregory, Rhipsime and Gayane in Constantinople, Gregory's bones are said to be those of a "giant," but no measurements are given.

243. Kirakos, *Patmut‘iwn*, 6: "Agat‘angelos, *or t‘argmani bari hreštak*."

celebrate] the liturgy by the *snark'* of the Holy Resurrection,[244] but Kirakos does not say that they all went to that city. In Rome Gregory and Silvester blessed salt for the offerings of sheep. Back in Armenia, Gregory ordained his son Aristakēs as head of the bishops of Armenia, the Virk', and the Ałuank'.[245] Following his death Gregory's bones were discovered by Gaṙnik, who buried them at T'ordan. In the time of the emperor Zeno, some of these relics and of those of the holy Rhip'simeank' were taken to Constantinople. However, their identity remained unknown until the time of Basil. When they were miraculously identified [in 879], Basil informed king Ašot, who on hearing the news instituted a feast of Saint Gregory on that very day, Saturday of the sixth week of Lent.[246]

This passage has been studied in detail by Patricia Boisson-Chenorhokian, who identifies the sources as primarily derived from liturgical manuals, themselves influenced by Byzantine traditions, rather than previous Armenian historians.[247] Elsewhere in his *History* Kirakos has frequent references to Gregory as the founder of the Armenian episcopal hierarchy. He notes that Catholicos Yovhannēs Ojnec'i re-established all the feasts "as they had been arranged by Saint Gregory;"[248] and in the time of catholicos Gregory III [1113-1166] "the old covenant of Trdat and Saint Gregory with the emperor Constantine and the patriarch Silvester was renewed."[249] The Armenians did not change the date of celebrating Christ's Nativity, but remained in the tradition that Gregory had taught; similarly Gregory had instructed that the communion wine not be adulterated with water; and he had instituted the fast known as *Aṙaǰawork'*.[250] Uṙnayr, king of the Ałuank' was

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244. *Ibid*, 11.

245. *Ibid*, 12.

246. *Ibid*, 13-14.

247. Boisson-Chenorhokian, "Histoire de saint Grégoire." The translations from Greek of Panegyrics on Gregory in the 11th and 12th centuries also point to strong interest in Gregory in Greek/Armenian circles; see Terian, *Patriotism*, 31-36.

248. Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 69.

249. *Ibid*, 118.

250. *Ibid*, 131, 138, 145.

baptized by Gregory; the appearance of the holy fire was a request of Gregory's; and Gregory had taught that the Father proceeds from himself, the Son from the Father, and the Holy Spirit from their essence.[251] Furthermore, Thaddaeus and Bartholomew are associated with Gregory;[252] and Kirakos quotes Gregory on tithing.[253] Most of these points have already been encountered in previous writers.

Not all writers of the period were as interested in Gregory. He is mentioned only once in the *History of the Mongols* by Grigor of Akancʻ, where Grigor notes that the Pahlawikʻ, notably Aršak the Valiant and Gregory the Illuminator, descended from Abraham through his wife Ketura.[254] Smbat in his *Chronicle* notes that the Catholicos Grigor Vkayasēr was of the same stock as Gregory, as was Grigor Magistros, and that the patriarchal throne was that of Saint Gregory.[255]

The Grammarians

The medieval grammarians do not repeat the legendary accretions to the standard life of Gregory. In his *Commentary on Grammar*,

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251. *Ibid*, 193, 213, 331. On the numerous conflicts in Jerusalem between Armenians and Greeks over the holy fire and the date of Easter see Sanjian, "Črazatik." The procession of the Holy Spirit was a mattter of contention between Armenians and Latins; see Kirakos, *Patmutʻiwn*, ch. 50: "On the question that arose between Christians concerning the Spirit of God, whether one should say He [proceeds] from the Father alone, or from the Father and the Son."

252. *Ibid*, 296, 301, 353.

253. *Ibid*, 308: "The holy Illuminator wrote that priests should tithe, *tasanordescʻen*, the people." This is not from the "Canons of Gregory the Illuminator," *Kanonagirkʻ*, I 243-249, a compilation probably dating to the early seventh century; see Mardirossian, *Le livre des canons*, 575-578. Tithing is discussed in the later *Gir awandutʻean* attributed to Sahak, *Kanonagirkʻ*, II 23-238, which claims Gregory's authority. Mxitʻar Goš has several references to the dues and offerings that are to be paid to the church, e.g. ch. 106, 153, but he does not refers to tithing as such in that regard.

254. Grigor of Akancʻ, 286. Aršak the Valiant, *kʻajn Aršak*, is the founder of the Parthian dynasty [circa 250 BC], not the Armenian Aršak II of the fourth century AD as suggested by Blake and Frye, note *ad loc*; see Movsēs Xorenacʻi, II 1.

255. Smbat, *Taregirkʻ*, 62, 69, 191. This text is not complete, but Gregory does not appear elsewhere in the fuller, earlier editions.

Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz refers to the quiet retreat where he was able to compose his work on the "mountain of repose of our Holy Illuminator Saint Gregory," i.e. Mt Sepuh.[256] But most references to Gregory the Illuminator in such grammatical works are to the use of the name *Grigor* as an example of a noun, without association with any particular person. The same authors in other compositions do, of course, have occasion to mention Gregory. Vardan's elaborations in his *Chronicle*, and Yovhannēs Erznkac'i's comments in his *Panegyric* have already been noted.

Step'annos Orbelean

Step'annos Orbelean, metropolitan of Siwnik' who wrote a *History* of his province, is familiar with many of the ideas already noted. He naturally concentrates on Gregory's travels in Siwnik'. For the baptism of Trdat he quotes Zenob; he mentions the ordering of ranks by Gregory and Trdat, and the "Book of St Gregory" that was read to the shah, in which Artašir is mentioned.[257] He refers to the shrine of Gregory at Bagawan; and there are numerous references to the throne and faith of St Gregory, churches named after him, and his relics, including the seals of Gregory and his successors on a circular letter.[258] Step'annos also is interested in the noble families whose ancestors had accompanied Gregory (or later Nersēs) to Caesarea. Of importance for the knowledge of Agathangelos is also Step'annos's *Elegy on the kat'olikē at Vałaršapat*, written in 1299, which features Gregory's vision.[259]

This elegy falls into the category of poetic laments well attested in Armenian, such as that on the Fall of Edessa by Nersēs Šnorhali, and many others. Yet although Step'annos describes in vivid terms the sad conditions of the country, he is not interested in the traditional account of the founding of the *kat'olikē*; neither Gregory nor the martyred virgins are mentioned. Step'annos reviews the history of the Armenian church in

256. Yovhannēs, *Hawak'umn*, 83. For Mt Sepuh see above, n. 42.

257. Step'annos, *Patmut'iwn*, 31; he specifically ascribes the book to Agathangelos.

255. *Ibid*, 67, 309; Gregory's rod, *gawazan*, for example is mentioned on p. 470.

259. See the edition by Sanjian, s.v. *Armenian Texts*.

general, and laments her present condition as if in the person of the mother church, who calls herself *Ējk' Miacni*, "the descent of the Only-begotten." This is an obvious reference to Gregory's vision, and raises the question of the identity of the man with a golden rod who explained the vision to Gregory. Here Christ is clearly meant. This was not suggested in the versions of Agathangelos.[260] The earliest such identification seems to be in a poem attributed to Anania Sanahnec'i of the eleventh century.[261]

In that text there appears a summary of Gregory's life and virtues, describing his fifteen years in the *virap*, how he came to Vałaršapat as the "illuminator, *lusatu*," of our souls, his burying the relics of the holy virgins, and his instruction.[262] The man who struck the earth with the golden hammer was the Only-begotten, *miacin*, who in Old Testament times had also descended, *ēǰ*, and appeared to men. In a long eulogy of the church it is called "our freeborn mother, holy Ēǰmiacin, *azatacin mayrs mer, surb Ēǰmiacin*." However, Anania's concern is not the name of the site, but rather the Christology of the term *miacin*. The use of the term *Ēǰmiacin* for the holy site at Vałaršapat did not become common until after the return of the patriarchal line there in 1441.

CONCLUSION

Apart from the *History* attributed to the enigmatic Agathangelos, Gregory the Illuminator is not mentioned in documents that can be securely dated until well over a century after his lifetime, namely the work known as the *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, which dates to the second half of the fifth century, and the *History* written by Łazar P'arpec'i at the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries. A *History* attributed to Agathangelos was circulating before Łazar composed his own, but it is by no means certain to what extent

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260. See above, 18.

261. See K'yoseyan, *Anania Sanahnec'i*, 344-354. The text is from Mat 2216, f. 141a-151a, dated to 1766.

262 The full title of the piece is *Eraneli Ananiayi hogešnorh p'ilisop'ayi nerbołean asac'eal i surbn Kat'ołikē ekełec'i, or ē i Nor K'ałak', or ayžm koč'i Vałaršapat, yorum tełvoǰ c'uc'aw hrašali tesiln meci nahataki srboyn Grigori lusaworč'i.*

the work known to Łazar corresponds *in detail* with what has come down in Armenian manuscripts, namely the version known as *Aa*.[263] And just as the evidence from later Armenian writers indicates that the image of Gregory was in flux and not definitively set in stone, so also there is no guarantee that the text known as "Agathangelos" corresponds with traditions of the fourth century, let alone with the realities of the first decades of that century. For example, whether the story of the nuns martyred at Vałaršapat with the date of their commemorations was originally self-standing, and was only later incorporated into traditions about Gregory and Trdat, must remain speculative. And whether Gregory was credited with extensive missionary journeys before the composition of that part of Agathangelos's *History* which is based on the journeys of Maštoc‘, as described by Koriwn, must remain doubtful. So also with numerous aspects of the story. When, for example, did it become known that Gregory had added to the canons of Nicaea, a point not found in the Greek translation *Ag*?[264]

Since Agathangelos has a particular interest in the founding myth of the *kat‘olikē* at Vałaršapat, it has been suggested that his *History* depends on an account of local events composed on the occasion of a restoration or rededication of that church, or of the martyria of Rhipsime and Gaiane. Accounts of martyrdoms were often written for such occasions. If we discount the possibility that Agathangelos depends on a text written in Greek at the time of the original foundation of the *kat‘olikē*, as the author would have us believe—since the Armenian *History* is not a translation and could not have been written before the invention of the Armenian script circa 405—several possibilities present themselves.

1. The restoration of that church by the patriarch Sahak, son of Nersēs, early in the fifth century. Asołik, II 1, indicates that Sahak restored the church of the holy virgins that had been destroyed by king Šapur, and found the unknown place that contained the bones of saint Rhipsime. That he sealed her coffin with his own ring is attested by

263. See above, 31-35, for a comparison of the general themes.

264 Nor does the idea appear in the Greek versions of the *V* recension; the Arabic, *Va*, does refer to the canons but without suggesting any Armenian adaptations. Only the Syriac, *Vs*, states that Gregory "perfected" the canons and handed them down to the Armenians. On this see further the commentary to §885 and Thomson, "The Armenian Adaptation of the Nicene Canons."

Sebēos and repeated by Samuel Anec'i.[265] But the *kat'ołikē* is not mentioned in that connection.

2. The *kat'ołikē*, having fallen into decay, was restored by Vahan Mamikonean, *himnarkeal norogeac'*, according to Łazar.[266] This restoration is not dated by Łazar, but he says Vahan worshipped in Vałaršapat, in the holy *kat'ołikē* which he had reconstructed, before news of the death of shah Peroz [in 484] reached them. Sebēos also refers to Vahan's restoration "of the great churches which the Persians had destroyed in Vałaršapat."[267] But the *kat'ołikē* was damaged twice soon afterwards. There was a fire, after which Łazar left for Greek territory where he wrote the *History* and the *Letter*. In the *Letter* he implies that he was in charge at the time of the rebuilding from the foundation, and that "once or twice" the furnishings were damaged because of the place's instability.[268]

3. Komitas rebuilt the shrine of Rhipsime and the wall of the cathedral, and replaced the wooden roof with a stone one; this was in the 28th year of Xosrov, i.e. 616/617. He did not dare to open the casket sealed by both Gregory and the later Sahak.[269]

Although of importance for the history of the holy sites, none of these references necessarily helps with the dating of Agathangelos's *History*. There exists, however, a brief chronicle with an intriguing reference to a translation that may be relevant. The chronicle is a list of patriarchs and kings of Armenia, found in a manuscript that contains the homilies known as *yačaxapatum*, often attributed to Gregory himself or to Maštoc', and the *History* of Agathangelos. The manuscript, now Paris

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265. Sebēos, 121; Samuēl, 79.

266. Łazar, *History*, 157. Garibian de Vartavan, "L'aspect primitif," 412-414, points to the possibility that this phrase means a rededication of the church, and that the distinction between the two levels of bases found in archaeological investigation of the foundations does not necessarily mean that the lower level is Gregory's original foundation and the upper level Vahan's work.

267. Sebēos, 66.

268. Łazar, *Letter*, 186, 196, 197.

269. Sebēos, 121, repeated by Samuēl, 79.

Armenian no. 112,[270] was written in Rimini [Italy] in the year 1254. The passage in question begins:

"Colophon[271] of the account of Eznik[272] the priest: whence and how were the successions of the kings from Trdat and the high-priests from saint Gregory, who were in position down to us. An abbreviated account set down for understanding." Then follows the list of kings and patriarchs down to the division of the country between Greeks and Persians. After Vramšapuh, "who reigned over the Persian sector, then for many years Persian *marzpans* held sway down to us. Then Artašēs, son of Vramšapuh, reigned at the command of the king of Persia. Then Persian *marzans* held sway down to us.[273] In whose time Aspurakēs was catholicos. And again in his time Sahak was elected catholicos.... In his time writing was successfully [invented] for the Armenians, and the testaments of the church were first translated by him, and the account of the deeds of Gregory was reworked[274] by a blessed man from Taron named Mesrop.... [The latter's disciples are then named, including Eznik].

"And there occurred the extraction and renewal of the bones of the holy Gaiane and of Rhipsime and of their companions by Sahak catholicos, for they were in the container[275] of saint Gregory. And he built the martyria of stone with smooth blocks in the city of Vałaršapat. And he [Sahak] renewed the house of God, that is, the holy *kat'ołikē*, for Gregory the great had set its foundation, just as the vision revealed [to him] indicated. The great Sahak, holy and true catholicos, also renewed many places and built holy churches and holy martyria for the saints throughout all regions of Greater Armenia....

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270. Description in Kévorkian and Ter-Step'anyan; see folios 108-291 for the *History* of Agathangelos, and 291-293 for the text of the short chronicle. The chronicle was earlier printed by Tēr-Mikelean in a long note to his edition of Samuēl Anec'i.

271. *Nšanagir*: perhaps "copy." The term is also used for recording secretaries, *Aa* §176.

272. *Eznkann*, genitive, from a nominative *Eznik* or *Eznak*.

273. Down to us: the phrase is repeated, but the author is not identified.

274. Reworked: *norogeal*, lit. "renewed." This implies that Mesrop [the later name for Maštoc', in use from the time of Movsēs Xorenac'i] was himself responsible for a re-edition of an account of the deeds of Gregory.

275. Container: *edac*, derived from the verb *dnel*, "to place." This noun is not attested elsewhere, but the meaning is clear.

"Until the days of Komitas, servant of the holy Rhipsimeank', who desired to renew the churches, which was granted us by Christ. First to renew the holy *kat'ołikē*, and then the martyria of saint Rhipsime, who was lying in the same *patuiran*[276] that saint Gregory had wrapped her in with his own hands, the bonds of her joints being whole and unbroken in the same clothing, which indeed will seem unbelieveable to those who come after us.[277] But with our own hands we were rendered worthy to touch [her?] in the presence of a crowded assembly. He transferred her to rest in the same sepulchre[278] that he had built with tough stones, in the days of Yohanik, monastic priest of the holy *kat'ołikē*, and Kamovēł, monastic priest of the same [church] of saint Rhipsime in the city of Vałaršapat, in the twenty-ninth year of Xosrov, king of kings, son of Ormizd [i.e. 619].

"May there be a memorial for Eznik in translating this book.[279]

"The dates of the patriarchs [*hayrapetac'*] of Armenia: [There follows a list with lengths of tenure from Gregory, 30 years] ... to Esayi, 13 years. This last died in 788."

Tēr-Mikelean identifies three hands in the chronicle: the first down to the activity of Sahak, the second down to Komitas, and the third the author of the final list to the late eighth century. There are two references to an Eznik, or Eznak, as author or translator. But when Eznik is listed among Mesrop's disciples no identification is made; so whether or not the same person is intended remains unclear. But it is not obvious that

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276. In the same *patuiran*: *novin patuiranaw*. *Patuiran* means lit. "command," and is used in §760 of Gregory's command to make the caskets, *arkełs*, for the martyrs. It would make little sense to interpret the Armenian as "saint Rhipsime, who was lying at the very command of saint Gregory wrapped by his own hands." Perhaps *patuiran* is a corruption of *patsparan*, "shelter, cover," or *patean*, "covering." Agathangelos, §224, refers to the *patans*, "shrouds," which Gregory rejected, "wrapping each saint in her torn clothing." Note that *vkayarans*, "martyria," is plural, implying at least the shrine of Gaiane as well.

277. Agathangelos, §198, had said that she was dismembered limb from limb, hence it may seem "unbelievable."

278. Sepulchre: *yarks*, referring to the building.

279. The chronicle down to this point is also printed in Yovsep'ean, *Yišatakarank'*, cols 20-25. Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaranner*, 13, under the year 619, prints only the line that mentions Eznak. The two forms of the name are often confused.

the author who repeats "down to us" is different from the author of the paragraph on Komitas.[280]

That author, or a later scribe, requests that Eznik/Eznak be remembered for translating "this book:" *elic'i yišatak Eznkann i t'argmanel zgirs zays*. It is also unclear what that means. The summary chronicle opens with: *nšanagir kargac' banic' Eznkann eric'u*. This could be interpreted as "colophon to the account of Eznik/Eznak the priest," in which case it would appear to be a summary of its contents. Or *nšanagir* might mean "copy," in which case we have the whole text. However, no account of the patriarchs and kings of Armenia from Trdat and Gregory down to the time of Sahak written by an Eznik or Eznak is otherwise known; though similar lists were common in Armenian from an early date.[281]

On the other hand, the memorial to Eznik [or Eznak] translating "this book" has been taken to mean that he translated the *History* of Agathangelos at the time when Komitas rebuilt the shrine of Rhipsime.[282] Despite the temptation to take "Agathangelos's" claim to have been a Greek versed in literary skill as reflecting an historical reality, all known Greek versions of Gregory's life [i.e. both the *A* and the *V* recensions] derive from Armenian originals. The only possibility of an account earlier than the existing *History* is one in Armenian. If Eznik is credited with "translating" this, then the Armenian verb *t'argmanel* must be taken in the sense of "composing," or "explaining," which implies a rewriting.[283] Von Gutschmid took the "translating" to refer to the rendering of the Armenian Agathangelos into Greek, i.e. the origin of the

280. Akinean, "Nkaragir," supposed that Eznik, whom he also thought to be the translator of P'awstos, took the first part of the list from the first version of the *Buzandaran*, which is not the presently known one; and the second "down to us" means that the author of the list had access to the final version of P'awstos, circa 490. Akinean's ideas about P'awstos were refuted in Garoïan's study of the *Buzandaran*, and his theories of the dates of Gregory and Trdat [whom he placed in the early third century] have been refuted by Ananean, "La data."

281. See examples in Adontz/Garsoïan, Appendix III, *Armenian Administrative Documents*.

282. Langlois, at the end of his French translation in the *Collection des historiens*, vol. I.

283. See the note of Adontz in his discussion of this colophon, Adontz/Garsoïan, 469-470 [note 36 to ch. XII]. He posited a theory of rewritings of the Gregory story, supposing that the form in which it now exists in Armenian dates from the eighth century.

version known as *Ag.*[284] But that would not seem to be the obvious meaning of the passage.

A preliminary version of the life and work of Gregory by, or commissioned by, the patriarch Sahak on the occasion of his restoration of the holy sites at Vałaršapat, has recently been proposed by Mahé; Adontz had earlier associated such a preliminary version with Maštoc'.[285] Unfortunately, no such text has ever been mentioned by an Armenian source, or asociated with the Eznik who played a prominent role among Sahak's disciples; nor is it suggested elsewhere that Mesrop/Maštoc' himself reworked an earlier version. Indeed, given the exotic and totally legendary traditions concerning the pupils of Sahak and Maštoc' that circulated by the time this colophon was written in 1254, one would be quite justified in regarding the whole text with suspicion. Step'annos Orbelean, for example, claims that Eznik, Koriwn, and other Armenians refuted the "unorthodox" at the council of Chalcedon![286] That Eznik translated a text about Gregory is doubtful. As for the contribution of Maštoc', the *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* were often attributed to him, based on the description of his oral homilies in Koriwn's *Life of Maštoc'*; but that he wrote a preliminary version of the life of Gregory is unproven.

It is, however, tempting to propose the existence of earlier forms of the complex work attributed to Agathangelos, for several reasons. In the first place, the first part of the *History* is much more coherent than the second half. That is, the story of Gregory's encounter with Trdat, his tortures and imprisonment, followed by the martyrdoms of Rhipsime, Gaiane, and their companions, and then Gregory's building of their shrines in accordance with his vision, makes a more plausible ensemble than the account of Gregory's life after his consecration as bishop. The last part of the *History* relies verbatim on Koriwn's *Life of Maštoc'*, and the emperor Constantine's two appearances [at the meeting in Rome, and in the summons to Nicaea] pose problems. It is therefore conceivable that

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284. Von Gutschmid, "Agathangelos," 12-13.

285. Mahé, "Hṙip'simē," 240. Adontz [see note just above] further supposed that when Koriwn wrote his *Life of Maštoc'* he drew on this "Life of saint Gregory," which explains the similar wording in many passages.

286. Step'annos, *Patmut'iwn nahangin Sisakan*, 90. For similar extraordinary claims regarding David the "Invincible" Philosopher and the historian Movsēs Xorenac'i see Kendall and Thomson, *David. Definitions*, xvii.

a preliminary version of a *Life of Gregory* existed in the circle of Sahak and Maštoc‘, which was later expanded in a less skilled fashion to include traditions not originally thought relevant.[287] It is certainly the case that the existing Armenian text shows many instances of incoherence and rewriting, to which Meillet drew attention long ago.[288] Furthermore, if such a work existed, it might explain the obscure reference at the beginning of the *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* to that History coming after what had previously been written by others; for the *Buzandaran* begins with the deaths of Gregory and his son Aristakēs. This theory has been discussed by Nina Garsoïan, who admits that "the possibility of further evidence" is remote.[289]

Speculation aside, it remains the case that Armenian tradition was wedded to the story of Gregory and the conversion of Armenia as found in the surviving Armenian work known as the *History of Armenia* by Agathangelos. A close rendering of that Armenian text in Greek, the version known as *Ag*, exists in numerous manuscripts.[290] But it cannot help us in the dating of the original Armenian, since it does not predate the description of the contents of Agathangelos's *History* given by Łazar. Lafontaine has examined in detail the history of this Greek version; his dating is based on several considerations including the following.

It must predate the early ninth century, for it is first quoted by Nicephorus [patriarch of Constantinople 806-815] in his *Antirrhetica contra Eusebium*, written soon after his exile in 815. Later Greek writers also quote from it, notably Nicetas [d. 824], author of a florilegium on images, and the author of twelfth century texts known as the "Invectives of Catholicos Isaac."[291] The earliest surviving (partial) Greek text is in a

287. But there is no reason to suppose that the "Book of Saint Gregory" mentioned by Sebēos corresponded with such a hypothetical composition; see Garitte, *Documents*, 350. For that episode see the Introduction, 45-46.

288. Meillet, "Remarques." Several of his examples have been noted in the commentary.

289. See the Introduction to her study of the *Epic Histories*, esp. 16-22.

290. The significant variants between the two texts are registered in the notes to the English translation below.

291 Details in Lafontaine, *La version grecque*, 95-100, for these quotations and also quotations in Arabic derived from Greek. See also Garitte, *Documents*, 403, n.1; and for the "Invectives," *idem*, *Narratio*, 396-397.

ninth century manuscript, though fragments in a palimpsest may be dated earlier.[292] The Greek version equates the Armenian dates of 26 hoṙi and 7 sahmi with 26 september and 7 october. If this equivalence is taken as an exact one, since the Armenian and Greek calendars differ by one day every four years it would point to the period 464-468.[293] On the other hand, if the translator kept the day of the month, but made only a rough equation between hoṙi and september, sahmi and october, then a precise dating becomes impossible.[294] The Artašir romance, found only in the Laurentiana manuscript, cannot predate the seventh century;[295] but its presence in only one manuscript of the Greek version is easily explained as a later interpolation. Lafontaine concludes that *Ag* cannot predate the end of the fifth century, or postdate the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries.

The translator remains unknown, though from the exactness of his knowledge of technicalities it seems evident that he was an Armenian. This contrasts with the Greek texts of the *V* recension, where Armenian titles are not understood, the translators being Greek. One might suppose that motivation for this Greek rendering of the Gregory story would be prompted by a desire for a sympathetic reaction to Armenia on the part of a Greek audience. But whether this points to contacts at an official level must remain speculation.[296] In any event, the translator of *Ag* did not include the very long theological section known as the *Teaching of Saint Gregory*. Admittedly, this section may not have existed in its

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292. See Lafontaine, *La version grecque*, 79; and 72-76 for the ninth century MS, Ottob. Gr. 373 in the Vatican.

293. See the table in Grumel, *La chronologie*, 306.

294. See the discussion with references to earlier theories in Lafontaine, *La version grecque*, 35-36.

295. *Ibid*, 40. This section does not appear in the later Arabic translation from the Greek *Ag*, namely *Aar*, but it was known to the Greek Metaphrastic recension of the tenth century.

296 Possible times of contact would include the revolt of 572, when the Armenian patriarch Yovhannēs II and Vardan Mamikonean fled to Constantinople and union was declared between the churches; or another attempt at reunion in 591; or the contacts between Heraclius and the Armenians; or the visit of Constans II to Dvin in 653. These episodes are all discussed in Garitte, *Narratio*.

present form before the seventh century,[297] but too exact a discussion of Armenian theology may not have been appropriate in any approach to a Greek readership. Two changes from the Armenian may perhaps be relevant here. The Greek text at §878 claims that the martyred Rhipsime was actually related to Constantine, whereas the Armenian had only stated that she was of royal descent.[298] And the Armenian claim in §885 that Gregory added to the Nicene canons is dropped. These would seem to be concessions to Greek sensibilities. The scribe of the Laurentiana manuscript may have been familiar with the Greek tradition that Trdat was "not an infant" when he fled from the Persians.[299] But *Ag* cannot help in the dating of the original Armenian.

Before turning to possible hints within the Armenian text of *Aa* that might indicate a date for its composition, we should note that there also existed different Armenian versions of some events associated with Gregory that found their way into Greek translations. The originals in Armenian are not extant, but they are known from the representatives of the *V* recension: *Vg* from a manuscript at the Escorial and *Vo* from a manuscript in Ochrid. In contrast to *Ag*, these were not the work of Armenians, but rather of Greek speakers, or at least of people unfamiliar with Armenian technical terms. Again, the translators are unknown. The person responsible for the text *Vo*, however, followed the same Greek text as that found in *Vg* up to the martyrdom of Rhipsime, before branching out into a version with its own idiosyncracies.[300] Furthermore, the Arabic version *Va*, which is also made from a Greek text, is often expanded in comparison with *Vg* and *Vo*, though whether this means that the translator's original was equally lengthy does not follow. Unfortunately, all quotations of the Armenian Agathangelos by later Armenian authors follow the known Armenian text, and no direct evidence for a variant Armenian text has yet been found.

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297. That section underwent a series of developments; see the Introduction to Thomson, *Teaching II*.

298. *Aa* §138: *i t'agakal tohmē*; "of noble descent, *aznuakan*," at §878.

299. See the commentary to §36. The reading in *L* is followed by the Arabic version *Aar*, but the phrase may be the result of an error in translation.

300. See the Introduction, 13-24, for a comparison of the different recensions.

The main points of difference between the *A* and *V* recensions are the following, disregarding the introduction of the same material in a different order:

The Greek texts Vg and Vo: Everything in *Aa* before the confrontation between Gregory and Trdat is omitted, as are Trdat's military triumphs. The two edicts of Trdat's are run together, and a letter from Trdat to Diocletian is added. *Vo* is closer to the Armenian in the description of Rhipsime's martyrdom. *Vo* also quotes from the *Teaching*, unlike *Vg*. *Vg* states that Gregory saw his vision in Artašat, but this may well be a simple confusion with Gregory's place of imprisonment, not the reflection of a different tradition.[301] The vision does not appear in *Vo*. There is some confusion in the descriptions of the building of the martyria for Rhipsime, Gaiane, and the third martyr. The Armenian indicates that Trdat brought eight massive stones from Mt. Masis, four for each chapel, but then states that three chapels were built. This is rationalised in *Vg*, which says that Trdat brought 12 stones, four for each of the three chapels.

More significant are changes in the remainder of the text. According to *Vg*, but not *Vo*, Trdat summoned the Caucasian princes before sending Gregory to be consecrated. This implies an attempt to depict a more direct Armenian involvement in the northern lands than is implied by *Aa*'s vague description of Gregory's missionary activities, itself based on Koriwn's account of the work of Maštocʻ. Caucasian interest is also emphasised by the details of the bishops later sent to the Caucasus, not found in the Armenian. Only *Vg* introduces Julitta as Gregory's wife. The name was well known in Cappadocia as that of a local martyr, but Julitta is unknown to Armenian authors.[302] As for Gregory's consecration at Caesarea only *Vg* refers to a gathering of precisely twenty bishops. *Vg* also adds the role of Peter of Sebaste at Gregory's enthronement in Aštišat, implying a more authoritative Cappadocian interest in the new Armenian church than is found in *Aa*. There are differences in the fantastic numbers of Armenians baptised by Gregory, but the specific numbers do not seem to have any special significance. Following the

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301. Van Esbroeck in his study of the Karšuni version thought that it reflected the later importance of near-by Dvin.

302. In Armenian tradition Gregory's wife was called Mariam; see the Introduction, 50-51.

baptisms, *Vo* ends with Gregory's retreat, omitting the encounter with Constantine and the participation of Aristakēs in the council of Nicaea.

According to *Vg* Gregory and Trdat were summoned by Constantine to meet him in Rome, rather than going of their own volition on hearing of the emperor's conversion. Constantine's letter is introduced, and it is also claimed that on returning, the king and patriarch instituted a commemoration of Constantine and Helen in the diptychs. *Vg* omits reference to the council of Nicaea, and ends with the succession of Aristakēs to the "apostolic throne" of Armenia. The narrative of *Vg* ends in the first person, though the author is not named, whereas *Vo* remains in the third person throughout.

The Arabic text Va: This is based on a Greek text and shows knowledge of traditions found in *Vg* and *Vo*, without following either consistently. Unlike those Greek versions, *Va* does know the site of the confrontation between Trdat and Gregory that led to the latter's eventual incarceration in the pit. For the martyrdoms it is closer to *Vo* than to *Vg*; but for later events it is closer to *Vg*. The Arabic follows *Vg* in giving Artašat as the site of Gregory's vision, and agrees with *Vg* regarding the twelve stones brought by Trdat. *Va* also agrees with *Vg* concerning the Caucasian princes summoned by Trdat, and in giving details about the bishops sent to the Caucasus. It follows *Vg* regarding the role of Peter, bishop of Sebaste. As for the encounter with Constantine, *Va* adds that the emperor made the Armenians pay tribute; it also describes Constantine's presence at Nicaea and the return of Aristakēs with the canons of that council. Unlike the Armenian, it does not state that Gregory added to the canons.

The Syriac text Vs: This diverges from the accounts in the Greek and Arabic in several respects. At the beginning it introduces Addai, first missionary to Armenia, on whose grave Gregory was conceived. This is a tradition known to Movsēs Xorenacʻi. *Vs* claims that Anak was the brother of Xosrov, an idea not found elsewhere. It also states that Gregory was brought up in Neocaesarea rather than Cappadocian Caesarea, which points to the significance of Gregory Thaumaturgus, or confusion with him. *Vs* omits Trdat's edicts of persecution. As for the number of nuns who fled to Armenia from Rome, "more than seventy" according to *Aa*, the Syriac states that forty took refuge in the wine-press, which is located near Dvin, not Vałaršapat, and the remaining thirty-seven in Awan. These two towns only come to prominence as rivals at the end of the sixth

century, when the pro-Byzantine patriarch Yovhannēs established his see in Awan in opposition to Movsēs II in Dvin.[303]

The Syriac adds that Manē was among the nuns, but avoided martyrdom. It gives an extended resumé of the *Teaching*, and indicates that only two chapels for the martyrs were built with the eight stones from Masis. Most astonishing is that Gregory is said to have been consecrated in Rome, though *Vs* does attribute the ordination to Leontius as do the other versions. It also changes the venue of Gregory and Trdat's meeting with Constantine from Rome to Constantinople. As at the beginning, *Vs* adds at the end new material extraneous to the events of Gregory's lifetime. It describes his burial, the discovery of his relics, and later events at the site down to Heraclius building a church over his grave at T'ordan.

One must distinguish the date of the manuscript [1184/85] containing the Syriac version, *Vs*, from which a Karšuni rendering was later made, from the date of the traditions the version enshrines. The importance of Awan points to the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries when the pro-Byzantine Yovhannēs was briefly in residence. It is also possible that only at a time when the patriarchate was divided into two opposing factions, pro or contra Chalcedon, could an Armenian claim that Gregory had been consecrated in Rome; it would keep the patriarchal line a proper distance from the Byzantine empire. The discovery of Gregory's relics in the time of Zeno and their burial in T'ordan are known to Movsēs Xorenac'i; at a later date, according to Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, they were to be found in the main church at Vałaršapat.[304] Armenian sources do not refer to Heraclius builidng a church at T'ordan, but agree that after Heraclius had restored the True Cross to Jerusalem, the Armenians under Catholicos Ezr accepted union with the Greek church. Sebēos, describing this episode, does not say that Heraclius himself attended a council at Karin, though that is implied in later texts.[305]

The Syriac version, which integrates the story of Thaddaeus into the Gregory narrative and attests to many later traditions not found in

303. See Garitte, *Narratio*, 225-254, for these events.

304. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 91; Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, II 38.

305. Sebēos, 131. For the relevant texts and discussion see Garitte, *Narratio*, 278-350.

Armenian until Movsēs Xorenaci, clearly has a chalcedonian bias.[306] The Armenian that lies behind it with its pro-Byzantine tendency can plausibly be dated to the very beginning of the seventh century. But the Syriac text itself can hardly be so early, for it refers to the shah Artašir as the "king of Tabriz," a title which can only have become current in the Muslim period, after the end of Sasanian rule.[307] The actual manuscript in which the text is found dates from 1184/85, and would appear to be by the hand of the famous historian Michael, Syrian patriarch 1166-1199.[308]

Gregory was known in Syria long before that time. The noted scholar George, bishop of the Arabs on the Syrian/Mesopotamian border who died in 724,[309] is author of a famous letter in response to a variety of queries from a monk and priest named Iešu Habiši. Of the nine sections, the fifth is devoted to "the bishop Gregory who instructed the Armenians."[310] George gives a brief résumé of the story, mentioning only that Gregory was a christian Roman who came to Armenia, either because of Diocletian's persecutions or some reason "which we know not," rose to service with Trdat, but refused to recant. For this he spent thirteen years in the pit [though George adds "but we shall put three years only"],[311] but was extricated after evil spirits had made Trdat mad. He was sent to Caesarea for consecration by Leontius, then built churches, appointed priests, and attended the council of Nicaea with Leontius. George then gives some direct quotations, which clearly

306. This is discussed in greater detail by Cowe, "An Armenian Job Fragment."

307. *Vs*, par. 5, 7, 12, 18 in the edition of van Esbroeck. See the commentary to *Aa* §36.

308. Details in van Esbroeck, "Le résumé," 291-292. Michael does not refer to Artašir as "king of Tabriz" in his *Chronicle*. He devotes a brief paragraph to Gregory: "At the beginning of the reign of Constantine flourished Gregory the Armenian, who performed miracles and great wonders, like the holy Apostles. The Armenians were converted by him from paganism to Chrsitianity. They believed and were baptised, and they received the laying on of hands of priesthood, which is passed on among from one to another," Book VII, ch. 1, p. 123 of the Syriac text. The Armenian version abbreviates somewhat, and calls Gregory "preacher and high-priest, *k'aroz ew k'ahanayapet*," 128.

309. For George and his commentaries on Aristotle see Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*, 183-184.

310. English translation in Cowper, *Syriac Miscellanies*, 69-75. Garitte, *Documents*, 408-419, gives the Syriac text, first printed in Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, 108-134.

311. Garitte notes that this may derive from an orthographical confusion in Syriac.

indicate that he is using a text closer to the version known in Arabic, *Va*, than to any other rendering, and certainly not the Syriac *Vs*.[312] After this George demonstrates that this Gregory of the Armenians is to be distinguished from other famous Gregories, namely Thaumaturgus, Nazianzenus, and the one from Nyssa. It is noteworthy that George then adds a reply to a question about the Armenians' use of unadulterated wine in the communion. That Gregory taught the Armenians not to put water in the wine does not appear in any version of Agathangelos, but the Armenian practice had become a matter of contention by the end of the sixth century.[313] It is not mentioned in Armenian texts as a directive of Gregory himself until the early eight century.[314]

The Syriac text, *Vs*, derives its interest from the traditions only attested in Armenian long after the *History* of Agathangelos was current. In that regard it is more idiosyncratic than the Greek and Arabic witnesses to the *V* recension known as *Vg*, *Vo* and *Va*, which are much closer to the known Armenian text. Unfortunately, the Greek translations from Armenian, and then the Arabic from Greek, cannot be dated with precision, nor are the circumstances of their composition as clear-cut as with *Vs*. In his detailed study of the Greek text from the Escorial, *Vg*, Garitte discussed at some length the theory of Adontz that the *V* recension could be dated to the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries on the basis of the lists of princes and bishops, which Adontz thought reflected the change of borders in 591.[315] Garitte pointed to the unjustified assumptions about ecclesiastical loyalties that lay behind this idea. Adontz also identified the *V* recension with the "Book of Saint Gregory" in the possession of the catholicos Komitas, as described by Sebēos.[316] But for that there is no proof at all; the assumption is based on the theory of a series of rewritings.[317] Since in his dogmatic work, the

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312. Analysis and comparison of the quotations in Garitte, *Documents*, 420-425.

313. See above, 60.

314 See above, 58, re the *Kanonagirk'*.

315. The Greek texts had not yet been discovered, so Adontz was drawing on the Arabic text published by Marr. See his remarks in the 1970 translation by Garsoïan, 264-268.

316. See above, 45.

317. Adontz/Garsoïan, 469-470 [n. 36 to ch. XII]; see above, n. 283.

Seal of Faith, Komitas quotes from the known Armenian text, it is unlikely that he produced quite a different version at the Sasanian court.[318]

If there existed a preliminary version of the *History*, later rewritten under the name of Agathangelos, could this lie behind the translations of the *V* recension? The *History* as known to Łazar by the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries placed the encounter between Gregory and Trdat in the historical context of the restoration of the Arsacid line in Armenia. It began with the rise of the Sasanian line, the death of Xosrov, and the escape and triumphal return of Trdat with Gregory. None of this is found in the Greek or Arabic. *Vo* omits Gregory's vision, but that may not have been of interest to a Greek hagiographer unconcerned with Vałaršapat as a holy Armenian site. The longer ending in *Vg* is written in the first person, but no authorial name is suggested. More significantly, the assertion in *Vg* that twenty bishops attended a council at Caesarea, on which occasion Gregory was consecrated, is unlikely to antedate the confusion in the canon lists which produced such a council between those of Ancyra and Neocaesarea [in 314 and 319].[319] In the absence of any Armenian evidence for an Armenian redaction of the Gregory story before that attributed to Agathangelos, it is impossible to judge what a translator at an unknown date may have added, adapted, or omitted.

The origin of the Arabic version was seen by its original editor, Nikolai Marr, as the product of a Chalcedonian milieu. The evidence, however, is very shaky and relies primarily on the important role that Trdat and Gregory play in the Caucasus. *Va* informs us that the Georgians [*Virk'*], Laz and Ałuank' are subject to king Trdat and appear at his behest. Since the Georgians remained chalcedonian and in communion with the Byzantine church following the christological controversies of the sixth century, Marr supposed that an Armenian responsible for their prominent role must also have been a chalcedonian. This is not a logical conclusion, for the author of the text behind *Va* is stressing Gregory's role as an evangelist to the wider Caucasus, expanding on the traditions found in *Aa*, which in turn derive from the account of Maštoc' missionary journeys found in Koriwn. The *V*

318. Garitte, *Documents*, 351-356.

319. See the discussion above, n. 39.

recension makes much of Gregory's relationship with the Greek church, but a favourable attitude does not prove chalcedonian allegiance, any more than the existence in the chalcedonian monastery on Mt Sinai of the Arabic manuscripts containing Gregory's *Life* proves that the author of the text was a chalcedonian. Marr's suggestion that Gregory's vision in which a schism is foretold is a reference to the division over Chalcedon is equally hypothetical and unprovable.[320]

In any search for an elusive author called Agathangelos, one is faced by the conundrum: to what stage of the development of traditions concerning Gregory does the concept of an author fit? Just as the later stories about Gregory's work and teaching during his lifetime, and memories of his relics after death, were in a perpetual state of flux, so the written accounts of the life of Gregory—his "lives" in the double sense noted in the Preface—were never fixed. Fragmentary tangible evidence in the form of surviving written fragments of the existing Armenian *History* and of some of the versions may go back to the ninth or tenth century,[321] but the full accounts survive only in later manuscripts and show a remarkable degree of variety in detail.[322] As noted above, quotations in Armenian texts predate the ninth century, though those texts too only survive in later manuscripts. There is no precise moment at which the completion of a final authoritative text can be identified.[323] Nonetheless, some reasonable suppositions may be hazarded, even if it cannot be shown precisely what the book contained at any given time.

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320. For his rebuttal of Marr's theories see Garitte, *Documents*, 341-349. For Armenian explanations of the schism foretold in the vision see below, 107, and n. 330.

321. There is a brief review of Armenian fragments in Anasyan, *Matenagitut'yun*, I, 160-163, followed by detailed bibliography. The earliest fragment of the Greek translation *Ag* may be ninth century, see Lafontaine, *La version grecque*, 80-83. The Escorial manuscript with *Vg* is dated to 1107, while the Ochrid manuscript with *Vo* is of the tenth century. The Arabic manuscript of *Va* in Sinai 460 may be as early as the ninth century, but the manuscript containing *Vs* is from the late twelfth century.

322. See the detailed *apparatus* to the 1909 edition of the Armenian. Van Esbroeck, "Saint Grégoire d'Arménie," 140, would see the hand of Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i in some later retouchings. For the latter's reworking of the canons see Mardirossian, *Le livre des canons*.

323. Authoritative: i.e. in the sense of *hastatun* used by Koriwn of the copies of scripture and other texts brought from Constantinople; see his *Vark' Maštoc'i*, 76.

By the time that Łazar was writing at the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries, Agathangelos was known as the author of a "Book of Gregory," which contained much of the material found in the surviving Armenian *History*. Some of the traditions now enshrined in that book were already known to the author of the *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, a work of unknown authorship composed between the middle and end of the fifth century. The surviving *History* of Agathangelos was composed in Armenian and shows knowledge of various other texts available in Armenian, most notably the *Life of Maštoc'* written by Koriwn in the 440s.[324] A person called Agathangelos is unknown to Armenian sources outside the *History* which he claimed to have written. And because he claimed to have written his book at the behest of king Trdat, and therefore in the early fourth century, even a shadowy Agathangelos does not appear in the legendary exploits of the many disciples of Sahak and Maštoc' that were circulating by the thirteenth century. A happy name, "messenger of good news," was chosen to mask the identity of the author.

This author's task was to compose an authoritative and coherent account of the conversion of Armenia and the establishment of the holy sites at Vałaršapat where the martyred nuns lay buried. The main points of the story were not in question, as is clear from the *Buzandaran* and later references to the existing structures of the martyria and the *kat'ołikē*. The development of a literature in the Armenian language in the generation following the crucial invention of a local script by Maštoc' gave an opportunity to put the story of Gregory into a wider setting. Therefore additions were made to long-standing traditions about Gregory, the martyrs, and the conversion of Trdat, which had a more local resonance in Vałaršapat. These additions included, but were not limited to, the historical setting of Trdat's return to his ancestral kingdom, notions of the spread of Christianity throughout the Caucasus elaborating on the actual work of Maštoc' and his disciples, exaggerations of the building of churches and the establishment of bishoprics throughout Armenia pushed back to Gregory's own time, details of Gregory's consecration at Caesarea, and of the visit to the emperor Constantine in Rome.[325] It is no coincidence that these are also the points where major divergences in the accounts in the *V* recension occur.

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324. Winkler, *Koriwns Biographie*, 21: between 442/3 and 449.

325. These points are not in the *Buzandaran*, though its author was familiar with a pact made between Trdat and Constantine where Gregory is not mentioned. Nor does the

The more coherent earlier part of the story may well have received written form before Agathangelos set to work, but no incontrovertible evidence has yet emerged. As for the long sermon of sixty days known as the *Teaching of Saint Gregory*, in its complete form this probably was not integrated into the *History* until later; the work of Agathangelos, however, certainly included sermons and instruction by Gregory, which could be expanded to create the *Teaching*.[326]

Although the Preface and Epilogue by Agathangelos cannot be taken literally as meaning that the book was composed in Greek by royal command soon after the events described, and was based on eye-witness accounts, they are worth noting as possible clues to the purpose of the author of the whole text. Agathangelos begins with an extended parallel between the perils and rewards of travelling over the seas for commercial profit and the perils and rewards of composing a historical narrative, between pearls that adorn the person and the pearl of spiritual wisdom. Such rhetoric was well known in the classical world, and the author immediately presents his credentials as one "trained in the art of the ancients, proficient in Latin and Greek, and not unskilled in literary composition." He then offers a summary of the contents of his book, stressing first of all the martial qualities of king Trdat, and promising an account of warlike deeds—which in fact comprise only a small portion of the *History*. After the death of Trdat's father Xosrov and Trdat's own brave actions, Agathangelos mentions the arrival of the martyrs, and how through one man God had mercy on Armenia. He describes Gregory's imprisonment, how he became the messenger of God's teaching, and how Trdat accepted salvation. Together they destroyed pagan temples and founded churches. Gregory was appointed shepherd of the land, and spread his teaching. Trdat returned to Greek territory [i.e. the Roman empire] and made a covenant with Constantine. Agathangelos also promises an account of Gregory's "teaching," though to what extent this corresponds with the lengthy part of the *History* known as the *Teaching* is not clear.

The purpose of this historical narrative, says the author, is to provide a record that may be told to future generations of his people, the race of

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Buzandaran describe Gregory's consecration, though it notes that it was customary for his successors to be consecrated in Caesarea.

326. The reference to Gregory's teaching in §14 of *Aa* is ambiguous. For the stages of composition of the section §259-715, which is longer than the rest of the book, see the Introduction to Thomson, *Teaching II*.

T'orgom. Echoing the last speech of Moses to the Israelites before his death, when he wrote the book of the law as a permanent record,[327] Agathangelos says that the Armenians will inquire in their ancestral books and it will be told them; they will learn about the apostolic grace given to the champion and martyr. He was the cause of prosperity and peace; he destroyed idolatrous impiety and established justice. He has now died, and in heaven prepares lodgings of eternal life for his people. The way in which Agathangelos describes his commission has close parallels with the beginning of Koriwn's own biography of Maštoc'. Koriwn is anxious to leave a memorial, *yišatakaran*, of the divine blessing bestowed on Armenia through Maštoc', and of his virtue and piety.

In his Epilogue Agathangelos again refers to Moses, as well as other prophets, who received a divine command to preserve accounts for the ages to come. He quotes David in the Psalms to explain that the divinely-given laws apply to all races and peoples. His narrative will be an inspiring example, which fathers will tell to their sons, and they to their own sons, "so that they may place their hope in God and not forget God's deeds, and may seek his commandments." This again echoes Koriwn.[328] And Agathangelos concludes with the words of Jeremiah: "You are our Lord God," and the reply, "You are my people." Though not quoted, Jeremiah's words continue: "Obey my voice and I will be your God, and you shall be my people. Walk in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well with you."[329] The message is clear. God will favour the Armenians if they honour his promise. That promise, made originally to Moses and confirmed by his writing down the law, has been passed to the Armenians. Koriwn makes Maštoc' the interpreter of the law through his invention of the Armenian script and the first writing of the divine sayings in the Armenian tongue. Agathangelos picks up the contrast between the evil deeds of the ancestors and the promise of blessing, by the contrast of Armenian idolatry and the conversion to Christianity. This was the work of Gregory.

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327. Deuteronomy ch. 31-32.

328. For a detailed analysis of the parallels between Agathangelos and Koriwn in their use of Psalm 78, see Calzolari, "La citation." She notes in particular the importance for Agathangelos of the paganism of the Armenians' ancestors.

329. Jer. 7.23.

Gregory, then, is the source of Armenia's special relationship with God. His *History*, claims Agathangelos, is a reliable account of the working of God's providence, confirmed by the physical presence of the martyrs at the heart of the Armenian church, in Vałaršapat. The divine relevation that dictated the establishment of the holy places that now shelter their bodies after death thus takes on a special significance, for in that vision Gregory saw the consequences of backsliding. God's grace is bestowed through the "high-priesthood," through which flows baptism that renders the baptised worthy of the heavenly kingdom. But there will be impious ones who depart from the covenant, *uxt*, and its sign. They will shed the blood of those who adhere to the covenant and the priesthood. The faithful, however, those who endure, will receive wings to rise up to the kingdom of Christ. And the vision ends with an exhortation to Gregory to stand firm and adhere to the tradition, *awand*, entrusted to him by Christ.[330]

This reinforces the message in the Epilogue. The covenant between God and the Armenians refers to the covenant, *uxt*, which is the focus of Armenian resistance to the Persians in 450-451. Łazar and Ełišē emphasise this pact between the clergy, nobility, and people to uphold their allegiance to the Christian faith, and castigate those who proved false to it. Agathangelos cannot specifically identify that traumatic event, for he claims to be writing more than a hundred years before it. But his reference to the impious who will abandon the holy covenant, cause the shedding of the blood of the faithful, and bring confusion to the people, could not be more direct—as indeed later Armenian writers were aware.[331]

The *History* of Agathangelos is not solely a justification for the origin of the holy places at Vałaršapat, which after the fall of the Arsacid monarchy was no longer the administrative capital of Armenia. It is not merely an explanation of the festivals of the Armenian martyrs celebrated on the 26th and 27th of Hoṙi, and of the festival of John the Baptist and Athenogenes in Aštišat on the 7th of Sahmi. It is not even only an account of the coming of Christianity to Armenia and the establishment of a regular hierarchy,

330. Cf. Ełišē, 67: "We are ready for persecution and death for the sake of the holy churches, which our forefathers entrusted, *awandec'in*, to us."

331. Beginning with Łazar; see above, 75-78, for later interpretations of the vision. The apocalyptic aspect of this vision and of the general outlook of Agathangelos in this *History* is studied in greater detail by La Porta, "The Vision of St. Grigor Lusaworič' and the Role of Apocalyptic in the Conversion of Armenia" [forthcoming].

embellished with broader claims of Armenian influence in the Caucasus. These are important aspects of a more comprehensive message: that through the labours of the holy confessor Gregory God's grace was brought to Armenia. God promised, as he did once before to Moses, that if the people observed his law, it would go well with them; but if not, not. This was confirmed when backsliders reneged on the covenant. Gregory is the messenger who brought the divine news, the founder of the line of keepers of the tradition, namely the successive Armenian patriarchs.

Like other classic works of Armenian historiography, this *History* had a meaning that transcended the particular circumstances of its origin. Ełišē's *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, and the *History of Armenia* by Movsēs Xorenacʻi provided later generations with messages for their own time, and entered the Armenian canon; they created pictures of the glorious past that shaped Armenian self-consciousness and could be held up as models. Agathangelos was dealing with a complex of traditions surrounding Gregory, king Trdat, the martyred companions of Rhipsime, and the origins of an Armenian church order. The evidence from those versions of the story which only survive now in translation, but which derive from an Armenian background,[332] indicates that Agathangelos did not incorporate every detail that might have been known. And his rhetorical gifts certainly indicate that he is not telling his story "wie es eigentlich gewesen ist." Whether or not there existed a written account of Gregory and the martyrs before Agathangelos took up his pen in the second half of the fifth century remains debated. To what extent every detail in the Armenian text as it has come down to us is to be ascribed to the author, or redactor, Agathangelos, is also uncertain. However, in its broad lines, as known by the end of the fifth century, Agathangelos's *History* has remained through the ages as not merely a memorial of an historical happening, but a reassuring inspiration that a chosen people has a special place in God's providence.[333]

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332. In the absence of Armenian evidence, it is not clear to what extent the authors of these versions have in turn embellished the texts, or incorporated oral traditions with which they were familiar.

333. The Greek rendering of the Armenian text [*Ag*] was probably made before the end of the seventh century. As for the adaptations made from lost Armenian texts, it has proven tempting to several scholars to place the origin of the *V* recension in the period of the division of Armenia after 591; but no irrefutable argument has yet been proposed. The more idiosyncratic Syriac version was made at the beginning of the seventh century. The Arabic probably dates from the early ninth century; see the review of Garitte's *Documents* by Toumanoff, esp. 380-381.

AGATHANGELOS

Translation of the Texts

§1. The fervent wish of sailors is the joy of reaching port safely. So in the midst of the surging billows which oppose them with tempestuous winds,* the many who are anxious and thirsty for gain join forces and prepare for the struggle. With oars they spur on their steeds that are constructed of wood and iron and held by nails; with mutual encouragement, but anxious fear in their hearts, they race across the azure plain; with motionless step and unmoving feet they fly over the surface of the sea's piling waves, where the furious billows pile up like a mountain and in turn sink down.† As the skillful David sings on the harp: "They go up and become mountains, and descend and become plains."* Then finally escaping from troubled water, they race to each one's land. This story they relate to their close friends: the toilsome course of their journeys, their tossings on the continually agitated waters, and the risking of their lives for profit as they aimed at victory in their struggle against death. To increase their merchandise they risk their lives. For although they may see the great force of the tempestuous and ferocious waves, which in myriad colours are agitated by the raging swells and pile up in unstable spray, and which in successive lines rise up against the sandy beaches, yet arriving on dry land they will laugh.†

* Ps. 106.29-30. * Ps. 103.8.

† Nautical metaphors are exceedingly common in classical antiquity, the Bible [e.g. Ps. 106. 29-30, Mt. 13. 45-46], and Christian literature; see Hambye, "The Symbol of Coming to Harbour." For Armenian parallels see the note *ad loc.* in Thomson, *Agathangelos I.*

† Cf. Łazar, 6. Matthew of Edessa develops the theme at the beginning of Book III of his *Chronicle*, §3. The theme of the storm at sea is popular in Armenian as well as other literatures. One example is Gregory of Nazianzenus, *Oratio* XVIII, a text well known in Armenian; cf. also Russell, "A Shipwreck," for Grigor Narekac'i's description of a storm on Lake Van.

§2. Amidst the tumultuous unfathomable depths* that echo with cavernous murmurings they fearfully await the moment of death. Although they see themselves moving over the vast magnitude of the troubled and terrifying waters, yet looking forward to success they attempt to brave the fearful tumult of the sea, that perchance

returning with their gain they may joyfully show to each one's family their profits, and to their neighbours the triumphs of their labour; so that where necessary they may abolish the name of poverty from themselves and relieve their troubled friends from the tyranny of oppressive lords, and from the profit they have brought they may settle their onerous debts and free them from the yoke of servitude to kings; [that they may provide] bounty to their friends, a reputation for liberality and prosperity among their enemies, and joy to their loved ones.

* Ps. 106.24.

§3. Therefore they engage in a terrible struggle between the heights of the mountains of water and the deep valleys of the sea. They attempt to find safety and salvation for themselves in order to escape the surrounding fury of the raging spray of storms and to make harbour safely. Truly, many are they who do not put their lives in jeopardy for avarice; but in order to abolish poverty, want and attendant misery they hasten to court danger, to be able to pay their debts or perhaps to find the price of ransom or to free themselves from obligations. In addition to their debts they take loans, that perchance they may find a way to double their profit, both satisfying their creditors and gaining for themselves even greater wealth.

§4. Many are they who in similar distress turn to the business of commerce† and its attendant afflictions. There are many also who employ their wealth for the profit of their country, adorning kings with valuable pearls, various precious stones and silks of multifarious hues. Similarly they enrich the poor, endowing them with a little respect, and they adorn the land with new and wonderful discoveries. They also fill the needy with their great profits and wealth. They cater for the desires and needs of mankind; they also provide the livelihood of many. They fill the houses of doctors with various sweet-smelling aromas and beneficial medicines, and they also supply the products of roots useful for healing for those who need them. They are the adornment of cities and the wealth of provinces; they reckon up long journeys as they travel over the world. They are companions abroad and bring merriment to all. They are support to many and strength to the

world. They clothe the naked, satisfy the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, and pile up treasures for the rich.

† Commerce: *vačaṙakanut'iwn.* For commerce at Vałaršapat see Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 65. In general see Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, and Garsoïan, "The Early Mediaeval Armenian City."

§5. Although they are forced by constraint, yet they learn to save themselves by expedients in distress, and they are able to be of help to others. Their habitual wisdom has brought them consolation; they have become accustomed to continuous travelling in their wide-ranging commerce. Valuing even small amounts, they increase them a thousand and myriad-fold. Therefore they will venture forth bravely on the waves of the wide-spreading sea, not following their own inclinations but the direction of the wind, borne along forcibly over the tumultuous expanses in the search for gain. They place themselves between life and death, entrusting themselves to the depths and reckoning to find either death or life, one or the other.

§6. In the same way we see perilous necessity forcing us to set sail over the sea of wisdom.† For there is no one among mankind who could approach such labour by the sweat of his own brow, unless a princely command impelled him to undertake it. And who could this be who would presume to scrutinize the unfathomable depths of the sea? Those who undertake long journeys have only the aim of personal profit from commerce.† Similarly, we too have not undertaken this rashly or unthinkingly in the manner of youth, but against our will we run this course, following the commands and under the pressure of exacting princes. So we have set sail on the bookish sea of history.†

† Sea of wisdom: a common patristic metaphor; see Lampe, s.v. *pelagos*. For Armenian parallels cf. Koriwn, 24 and 68.

† For the metaphor of the merchant in a spiritual sense see Lampe, s.v. *emporia*, and in Armenian, *Catena on the Epistle of James* [ed. Renoux], §69. There is an extensive passage on merchants at sea seeking heavenly treasure in the *Vkayk' Arewelic'*, 52-53.

† Sea of history: cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, III 62, "sailing over the archives."

§7. For the command of kings has imposed on the poor stores of our intelligence, and has demanded tribute from us in the form of

historical writing about past events, lucid histories of what has been done in our time. But a great and difficult task has been left to those who will come after us, to recount in order the history of succeeding centuries. Not willingly have we allowed ourselves to be persuaded to do this. But as it is impossible to oppose royal commands, so far as in us lies we shall tell our story according to the command. We have undertaken this task, setting ourselves to the literary trade in fear and trepidation. We offer for sale a well-composed and historical narrative, having submitted the details of the history of mortal men to research and critical investigation, according to the command, in a historical manner, rigorously, chronologically,† and accurately.

† Chronologically: cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 82: "There is no true history without chronology."

§8. So [we present] the virtue of spiritual persons, the grandeur of the lovers of God, like the precious pearl,† round, shining, incomparable, which has no flaw to spoil its sparkling light, but will perfectly adorn the honourable crowns of kings; or like precious stones from the land of India, which in splendid array will adorn royal diadems.† Indeed, how could anyone find such by chance, save merchants in precious goods, who acquire the rewards of their long journeys through great labour, and adorn kings only after extreme efforts at discovery. But their shining light, which we have put on sale, not only suffices for the adornment of the head of a king in the presence of others, it also adorns everyone, gives light to everyone, enriches everyone, pleases everyone, consoles everyone, and refreshes everyone; it renders kings majestic like the diadem with interlacing fringes. Similarly it enriches the poor, removing them from their dung-heap and making them equal to princes.* It also completes the adornment of nations with blessing, crowning the year with sweetness.*

* I Kingdoms 2.8. * Ps. 64.12.

† For the metaphor of the pearl see Lampe, s.v. *margaritēs*. Cf. also Russell, "The Epic of the Pearl," though he does not directly discuss this passage.

† Diadem: *xoyr*. For Armenian royal diadems see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 134-5, n. 235 with extensive references.

§9. They also fill the empty with heavenly plenty; they provide rest for the work-worn, and an unfailing remedy full of all blessings.

They can give healing without medicines, gums, or roots. They can give prosperity to cities by the benevolence of their Lord; they can enrich the land by the prayers of their heroism.† They can show the course of heavenly journeys rising to God; they are the guides of the road to the kingdom of God. They are those who are tortured and die for their Lord, and gain life; and they leave the renown and assistance of the fruits of their valour to the world. They are life and salvation for those who by sin have become impoverished. They are great hidden treasure on earth of the heavenly ruler. They by their faith give joy and delight to those whose treasure God has increased. They clothe the naked; and those who through sin have become naked in the likeness of Adam, they clothe in garments of light. They satisfy the hungry, who are in want through their sins of ignorance; they give drink to the thirsty from the cup of virtue. They increase heavenly treasure for those who will have it in greater abundance; for "he who has, to him will it be given and increased."* And to everyone they open the gates of the compassion of the benevolent Christ. Therefore they loved their Lord and were loved by him, and by their intercession they fill all the needy.

* Mt. 13.12, 25.29, Mk. 4.25, Lk. 8.18.

† Heroism: *nahatakut'iwn*. The term *nahatak*, "hero, champion," is widely used of Christian martyrs, and hence is often applied to Gregory.

§10. Such a pearl is the adornment and boast not merely of the soul but also of the body. Prosperity has been granted to the world by God through their intercession; for the compassion of the Godhead has descended upon them, and grants to the world mercy and propitiation. On this account they set sail through the dangerous storms of the sins that beset the world,† battling the waves through their asceticism and skimming over the deeps to reach the port of the heavenly navigator's peace.† They offered a crown of honour to the king of light. Freed from the spray of impiety, they reached the city and were prepared for unending joy, adorned with the precious pearl, and crowned with gems of spiritual light—they who sold their lives to those who inflicted them with torments. They were elevated to eternal majesty, they set the prosperity of the world upright, inviolable, immovable, establishing it firmly on the ships of their faith.

† The "sea of sin" is a common metaphor in Agathangelos, cf. §16, and the *Teaching*, §556, 568, 636; cf. also Ełišē, *Homilies*, 328, and the *Physiologus*, 36.10 [ed. Muradyan, 192], regarding the kingfisher.

† Navigator: *nawapet*, "captain of a ship." For its application to Christ see Lampe, s.v. *kybernetēs*.

§11. For such reward what price would ever suffice? Yes, what indeed? Only a ready willing heart, lovingly offering its attention, in faith extending its ears as a ready receptacle for [God's] words; then, complementing the willing heart, it will hang as beautiful earrings like the precious pearl of great price. Only bow your head, and then the spiritual crown will be placed on your head and will adorn you more than would precious gems. Only incline to the royal summons, and then sweet savours will delight your palate. Only be thirsty for love, and then a spring of life will satisfy your arid thirst. Only wash yourself of dirt, and then the unfading and luminous garment will clothe you more splendidly than the sweet-smelling lily.

§12. So I have attempted to penetrate to the core of these historical writings, to reveal their profundity to those who may wish to attend in wisdom to this profitable history. Now a command came to me, one Agathangelos† from the great city of Rome, trained in the art of the ancients, proficient in Latin and Greek,† and not unskilled in literary composition. Thus we came to the Arsacid court in the reign of the brave, virtuous, mighty and heroic Trdat, who has surpassed all his ancestors in valour, and who has done deeds in battle worthy of champions and giants.† He ordered us to narrate, not a falsified account of his own brave deeds, nor unworthily to elaborate capricious fables, but the vicissitudes that occurred in various times, warlike battles, the slaughter of men with great bloodshed, the clash of vast armies, the subjection of lands, the plundering of provinces, the razing of cities, the capture of towns, the struggle of many men for renown or vindictive revenge.

† For the enigmatic "Agathangelos, *Agat'angelos* [good angel]," and his literary work see the Introduction. The name is not common, but is attested in antiquity; see note 2 to the Introduction.

† Latin: *hṙomayerēn*; see note to §189 below.

† The Arsacid, *Aršakuni*, dynasty was a branch of the Parthian royal house, confirmed as rulers of Armenia in 66 AD. For the Arsacids in the fourth

century see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories* 354-355. The consequences in Armenia of the overthrow of the Parthians in Iran by the Sasanian dynasty, ca. 224, are the focus of the first part of Agathangelos's *History*. For general historical background see Toumanoff, "The Third Century Armenian Arsacids," and the *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3. There is good bibliography in Dignas and Winter, *Rome and Persia* (which includes a chapter on Armenia by T. Greenwood). For English translations of selected relevant documents see also Dodgeon and Lieu.

§13. An order came to me from the great king Trdat to compose a narrative from literary chronicles:† first, the valiant deeds of his father the noble Xosrov, and whatever valorous acts were performed in battle when his kingdom was in confusion and flux and nations were troubled; and then the death of the noble Xosrov, whence, why, how and what events took place; and then the valour of Trdat equal to his father's, and whatever deeds he accomplished in his own time. And then about God's beloved martyrs, how and why they came, who arose like luminaries to scatter the mist of darkness from the land of Armenia; then how they gave up their lives for God's truth. How God had mercy and visited this land of the Armenians, and showed great miracles through one man, who endured many and various torments and afflictions in prison, as in his solitary struggle he triumphed for Christ over a double tyranny in the city of Artašat.† He acquired the title of martyr; he came as far as death, yet by God's will he returned from there and was raised up to the oversight of this land of Armenia. He entered the gates of death,* but returned by the will of God; he became the messenger of Christ's teaching after God's miraculous and merciful punishments. Then how the meritorious Trdat accepted unhoped for salvation and became dear to all, becoming by the grace of God the son of his reborn native land and heir to eternal life.†

* Ps. 106.18.

† Literary chronicles: *nšanagir žamanakagrac'n*. *Nšanagir* implies that written documents were used; is can also mean "colophon, signature." Agathangelos in the next paragraph says he used only his own eyes; see also §897, where reliable witnesses are mentioned. The author of this text was clearly familiar with many written texts, such as the Bible and Christian writings. But the problem remains whether *Aa* was the first written account of Gregory's life and work, or earlier versions existed which did not survive. See the *Introduction*.

† Double tyranny: *erkpatakan bṙnut'iwn.* Artašat was not where Gregory was tortured, but where he was thrown into the deep pit [*xor virap*]. "Double" may refer to this and to the two pagan temples there which Gregory later destroyed [*Aa* §778]. For the town of Artašat see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 448-449.

† Heir: *merjawor.* This is not strictly "heir," but "close," also used for relatives.

§14. Since we intend to set out this account properly, we have not composed our book by taking our information from ancient reports, but after seeing with our own eyes the persons involved and the accompanying spiritual deeds and the illuminating and graceful teaching according to the precepts of the gospel.† [We shall tell] how this illuminating teaching was honoured above all else by the grace of God.† This the king accepted, and he subjected everyone to the divine yoke—or rather not he, but the will of the all-powerful Christ. And how they undertook the destruction of the pagan temples, and the holy foundations of churches were established. How they appointed the same man as shepherd of the land and enjoyed his teaching. How Trdat went back to the land of the Greeks in the reign of the pious Constantine, the established king of the empire of Greeks and Romans. How he made a covenant, strengthened him in piety, and then returned with great gifts and much honour. And how Trdat dedicated to God many places. All this we shall relate in detailed succession, with the *Teaching* of the saint who was made worthy of ascending the great episcopal throne, and who inherited the patriarchal title as the champion of virtue†—whence, from what descent, and who he was, from what family was the one who became worthy to do this by divinely-given grace.

† We have not composed ... gospel: cf. Koriwn, 96-98, §28, where he explains the sources for his biography. See the list of parallels with Koriwn in the Appendix.

† Teaching: *vardapetut'iwn.* This term is ambiguous, sometimes referring to the work of Gregory and the traditions supposedly instituted by him, and sometimes to that part of the present Armenian text known as *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*, i.e. the *History*, §259-715. For the latter see the translation and commentary in Thomson, *Teaching II.* For the broader sense of "teaching" see the discussion of its use in various Armenian authors in the *Introduction* above.

† Patriarchal title: *hayrapetakan anun*. Various titles are ascribed to Gregory in *Aa* and the versions, many of them anachronistic; these are reviewed in Thomson, *Agathangelos I*, lxxvii-lxxix. For *ark'episkopos*, "archbishop," *episkoposapet*, "chief-bishop," *hayrapet*, "patriarch," *k'ahanayapet*, "chief-priest," and *kat'olikos*, "catholicos," see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 508, 523, 531, 536, 537. See also Thomson, "Patriarchal Titles," Appendix in *idem*, *The History of Łazar P'arpec'i*, 272-274.

§15. So I shall mount the steed of the mind and follow the course of understanding. I shall aim at the goal of thought, and spur on by the strength of my arm and draw upon the force of the scribe's finger. With my tongue I shall provoke thoughts, and my lips will be able to enunciate wise sayings. I shall keep a steady course and turn the rotating wheel of my historical narrative, so that we may happily navigate the waves of this chronological sea† to inform future generations of the people, who are to come after these times have passed, and who will bless the Lord.* They will inquire in their ancestral books and it will be narrated to them, and [they will inquire] in the ordered accounts, and it will be told them.*

* Ps. 101.19. * Deut. 32.7.

† So that ... sea: as Koriwn, 24.

§16. They will read about the preaching of the divinely bestowed gospel of the word of life to this race of T'orgom,† this land of Armenia. How and why they received it, by what man, and who and whence he was who showed in himself this newly-given apostolic grace, and appeared by such divine grace. And concerning his illuminating teaching and the virtue and order of his angelic life, the honourable endurance of this grace-filled and mighty champion, who was a confessor of Christ and a witness to truth. How, thereafter, prosperity and peace, plenty, fruitfulness and healing were granted by God through his prayers.† And how by his love for God and the power of Christ given him, the cults of inanity fell and were crushed, and piety spread through the whole of this land of Armenia. How churches were built in Armenia, and the cults of inanity were broken, which through the habitual error of our ancestors had been foolish forms of uselessly worked and beguiling stone and wood, idolatrous fancies of insensibility.† They were as if drunk in folly* and stupified by the glamour of sin, and like lees in

their demonic frenzy they sank down in the sea of wickedness of sin. But he by the will of Christ became a preacher teaching justice to all this land of Armenia, lest they be stuck in the footsteps of sin in this world that resembles the sea. And when he entered the calm unruffled harbour of God the Father's tranquillity, he there prepared for them lodgings of eternal life.

* Prov. 4.17.

† T'orgom: one of the three sons of Gomer, son of Japheth, son of Noah; see Gen. 10. Ashkenaz, T'orgom's brother, was also frequently cited as an ancestor of the Armenians; see Koriwn, 22. Hayk, the eponymous ancestor of the Armenians, was son of T'orgom according to Movsēs Xorenac'i, I 9, 12.

† Prosperity, peace, plenty, fruitfulness. These benefits for mankind derive from the pagan gods according to Trdat's edict, *Aa* §128.

† Idolatrous: *uruapašt*. This is the only citation of the term in the *NBHL*, which glosses it "idolatrous, *kṙapašt*;" but see Ačaṙean, *Armatakan Baṙaran*, s.v. for further references. For the later meaning of *uru* as "ghost, see Russell, *Zoroastrianism*, 334-336.

§17. I have skimmed over the deeply billowing waves, the extensive oceans that are ever swelling, and like a vortex swirl as they are restlessly driven by the wind and piled up to agitated and furious heights. After reaching islands, cities and distant lands, finding heavy argosies filled with treasure and numerous valuables and wealth for decoration and profit, we have brought them to sure repose for your profit. Let us hasten to open the treasures of these stores. Let us sell to the audience the results of our labour, win their attention and offer our story. Especially on account of your command, most valiant of men,† Trdat, king of Greater Armenia, we shall bring as the gain of our commerce the prosperity of the country, and we shall increase your treasure through the labour of our seagoing voyages.

† Most valiant of men: *k'aǰ aranc'*. *K'aǰ* is a common epithet of kings in Armenian texts; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 534-535.

Greek Ag:

THE PROLOGUE OF AGATHANGELOS, IN WHICH ACCOUNT IS ALSO THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT GREGORY. LORD, GIVE BLESSING.

1. Those who devote themselves with eagerness to sea voyages and hasten to the dangers of the waves willingly prepare ships and embrace a life at sea. Raising the mast and cutting through the force of the waters with the rudder, they steer the ship where they wish, guiding the skiff like a filly to home port. The violence of the waves does not terrify them, nor the onslaught of rocks frighten them; for leading a life of danger, they are happy to be neighbours of death in order to furnish for each one the goods required. Some strive for the overthrow of cities, others hasten to the Indian sea for the adornment of men and women, conveying to those who need them precious stones [from] the abundance in those regions. To such an enterprise I too, embarking on the ocean of business, shall proceed in my account to the affairs of Armenia, describing how the Persians and Armenians made war on each other.

Syriac Vs:
NEXT THE HISTORY OF SAINT GREGORY, CATHOLICOS OF THE ARMENIANS, WHO INSTRUCTED ARMENIA AND CONVERTED IT FROM THE ERROR OF DEMONS AND THE WORSHIP OF IDOLS TO TRUE KNOWLEDGE AND THE WORSHIP OF THE CROSS.

1. There was in Armenia a king called Sanatruk, son [of the sister] of Abgar king of Urha who wrote a letter to Christ. They say about him that he was from the tribe of David, king and prophet. From then on, they say, all the kings of Armenia were from the house of David. 2. In the days of this Sanatruk king of Armenia there arrived Labai, who was called Taddai, who is Addai. He preached to them the word of the faith, and Sanatruk, son of king Abgar's sister, received it. 3. When the kings of Armenia heard [of this], they gathered together and came to him, saying: "It is not right for you to forsake the gods of your fathers." So he did their wish and returned to his former error. 4. They brought Addai up to a hill, and there he was killed by them. He was buried by some believers. After a long time Sanatruk died, and Artašes reigned after him. And he too died.

II. ARTAVAN AND ARTAŠIR

Greek Ag only:[1]

2. The Parthians, who enjoyed the greatest success and ruled over the kingdom of the Persians and Armenians and those Indians who border on the eastern Persians, and also over the harsh Massagetae, had the following organization: The first of the race of the Parthians, later named Arsacids, who in age had seniority and was adorned with valour, became the lord of the kingdom of the Persians. The second in rank presided over the kingdom of the Armenians; the third in rank ruled the kingdom of the Indians who were close to the Persians; the fourth controlled the kingdom of the Massagetae. This organization pertained in the race of the Parthians, especially at the time when they enjoyed such good fortune.

3. I shall begin from when the Parthian underwent the beginning of his downfall. Artaban, son of Valarš, descended from the Parthians, who was familiar with the teaching of the Chaldaeans and understood how to measure the courses and infuences of the stars and was trained to recognise fates, was sleeping with his own wife in his tent examining the visible stars, when he realised something and said to the queen: "I have seen the course of a star, and have estimated today that if anyone should

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1. This tale, attested only in the Laurentiana MS of *Ag*, has affinities with the Pahlavi *Kārnāmah-i Ardašir Pāpakān*. The points in common are: Ardavan's maid-servant falls in love with Ardašir; Ardavan has a dream, which the magi interpret to mean that now is a favourable time for an aspiring new monarch to achieve success; the maiden hears their interpretation and tells Ardašir, who flees towards Fars; there is war between Ardavan and Ardašir for four months; then Ardašir kills Ardavan and marries his daughter. The rest of the story has no parallel with the tale in *Ag*; it deals with Ardašir's son Šapur, and the latter's son Ormazd.

Chunakovoi, *Kniga deianii Ardašira*, indicates that the *Kārnāmah* was not a direct source for the Greek Agathangelos tale. The latter offers the Ardašir story of the Armenian national epic, rather than the authentic Iranian story. In her "Otgoloski" she gives a Russian translation of the story, and discusses the parallels in Movsēs Xorenac'i. In II 70 Movsēs alludes to this Armenian tradition when he claims to borrow from a work composed by "Rastsohun." There is a discussion of earlier scholarship in Garitte, *Documents*, 272-279. The most recent translation of the *Kārnāmah* is by Grenet, q.v., but he does not mention the version in the Greek Agathangelos. An English translation of the text in *Ag* may be found in Dodgeon and Lieu, 11-14, and on-line by Muradyan and Topchyan.

wish to rebel against his own lord and make war on him, at the present time he would win, his lord being defeated." Having said this, he turned back to sleep. According to custom one of the queen's maid-servants, who was sleeping in the same tent, attended to a request demanded by her. She was a daughter of those who held first rank, and was acquainted with one of the magnates called Artašir from the land of Assyria. Being in love with him and having heard the king's words, unbeknown to the king and queen she ran to Artašir, son of Sasan, after whom the Persian kings descended from him were called.

4. On entering his tent—for his servants did not prevent her, since their mutual love was not unknown—she said: "Dear Artašir, may sleep flee from your eyelids. Now set going the plan which you have had long since. Be of good courage, considering the prophecy of the king. Now is the time for armour; now there is need for the counsel of the wisest men; now must one gather a multitude for battle. For the king, on seeing the course of the stars said: 'Now a servant who opposes his master will be victorious at the present time.' So up, go to the council. Give me your right hand and confirm with an oath my resolve, that when you attain the kingdom of the Persians you will not put me out of your bed, but proclaim me a partner of that right hand. That you have always proposed to me since you started on that plan." So spoke Artaduxt. Artašir expressed the greatest gratitude. Taking the woman's hand in his right hand, he raised it up to heaven, saying: "May the divine power, sun and fire, air and earth, witness that today, when I have taken counsel with the noblest Persians and defected from the king, I shall straightway arrange for you to take full control in my house."

5. On hearing that, Artaduxt said: "I shall go then to the king's tent, for I must attend to today's duties for the coming days. Even if we have obtained good fortune, being born from nobility, it is still necessary to serve the royal needs." Having said that, she went to the royal tent, and secretly entering her own bed, lay down. When Artašir arose, he gathered the nobles of the Persians and Assyrians with whom on other days as well he used to take counsel; and standing in their midst said: "Noble men of the Persians and Assyrians, we have known for a long time the pretension of the Parthians, who have taken over the duties of others. They boast in doing injustice, they cease not pointless murders. The Parthians are loathsome to Persian and Assyrian men, having come

among us from the land of barbarians. What then do you say? If my words are false, let him remain as king and wrong-doer. But if I have not spoken outside the truth, let us hasten to battle. For it is better to die than to be servants of an unjust lord." So spoke Artašir.

6. The Persian nobles accepted his words, for they prayed to be delivered from the Parthians and that the king of the Persians be from their own race. So they said to Artašir: "We accept you as leader, both of words and of deeds. Having experienced your good judgment, we are sure that it is best for the hegemony to be in your hands. So do what you advise and take the lead, and we shall follow your proposals, doing whatever is for the advantage of us both." So when it was day and the Persians had gone off to battle with Artašir as their leader, first they sent as messengers to king Artaban, Zekas and Karinas, noble heads of clans and generals. They departed and stood before the arch-king. Their speech began as follows: "We are messengers of the Persians, and if the most civilized opinion is to accept the words of Persians, we shall speak whatever lengthy remarks we have to announce as messengers, being free of fear and danger. This is what the custom ordains that the nobles of old established, that messengers who have been sent should be kept unharmed. So if you agree, O king, we shall speak." King Artaban gave them permission to say whatever they wished.

7. They began their speech as follows: "O king, it is a practice among us Persians to submit to kings. And as the king is lord of all, it behoves the king to direct affairs with good order and justice, to govern without barbarian arrogance, and to appear fearsome to opponents and well-disposed towards subjects. For how could he prevent wrong-doers if he himself is a source of injustice? How could he punish those committing crimes if he himself were inclined to wrongs? We have experienced your crimes; we have put ourselves beyond your rule—not hating to be subject, but fleeing a lawless king; not being tyrranical, but not enduring a tyrranical disposition." Those were the words of the Persians. For many hours king Artaban bent his head and stared at the ground, as he foresaw the impending fall of his own rule. Then turning to the messengers, he said: "I am responsible for this violence, having honoured some with office and power, permitting some to become wealthy, and making others possessors of lands and possessions through royal gifts. You go to what is desired by you, but you will see me altered

towards your opinions. I shall teach you not to oppose a king. You messengers depart, being no longer useful for such words, lest I make you the first to incur my violence."

8. *On hearing that, Zekas and Karinas went to the council of the Persians. They entered and reported everything to Artašir and the other Persian nobles, adding to what had been said also the fury of the king, that he would no longer wait for a second message, but was arming against the leaders of the council. Artašir sent for Artaduxt and established her in the securest castle with his own possessions, then armed himself with the Persians and Assyrians against the arch-king Artaban. When Artaban became aware of the preparations against him, he too armed himself with the Parthians, including a few Persians who did not share the plan of their kinsmen. When the Persians and Parthians made their first attack on each other, many fell from either side. But Artašir prevailed, as many others abandoned Artaban and went over to Artašir. In their second mutual onslaught they killed most of the Parthians. King Artaban briefly turned in flight, then again made ready for battle. So for twelve months they contended with each other, sometimes making war, sometimes resting. In the end, looking once more to a battle, they came to the place of confrontation.*

9. Here the manuscript is badly damaged. In a dialogue between Artaban and Artašir the former states he would prefer death to serving Artašir. The details of Artaban's death are illegible.]

Agreeing with her, he ruled over the remaining Parthians, Persians and Assyrians, acting in everything fairly and rejoicing in good order and very just government. He strove to acquire praise, in that he had attained the Persian kingdom unexpectedly. All these events he reported to Xosroes, the Arsacid who ruled over Greater Armenia: that Artašir, son of Sasan, had seized the kingdom of the Persians after killing Artaban, his [Xosroes'] brother. He added to these announcements that the Parthians too were happier with the rule of Artašir than with that of their own kinsman.

§18.[1] The time of the Parthian kingdom came to an end when sovereignty was taken away from Artavan son of Vałarš on his murder by Artašir son of Sasan.[2] The latter was a prince from the province of Stahr who had come and united the forces of the Persians; they then abandoned, rejected and disdained the sovereignty of the Parthians, and happily chose the rule of Artašir son of Sasan.† So after the sad news of his death reached Xosrov king of the Armenians,[3] who was second in the kingdom of the Persians—for whoever was king of Armenia had second rank in the Persian kingdom—although he was quickly informed of the sad news,[4] he had no time to complete preparations for war. Then he returned in great sadness at the course of events, for he had been unable to accomplish anything. And he returned to his own country greatly distressed.

† For the historical background to the rise of the Sasanians see note to §12.

Syriac Vs: 5. After him Xosrov reigned, a strong and harsh man. He conquered many kings and killed them, and also inherited their land. Even the great king of Tabriz who had made him king, who was a Pahlav and valiant,† was afraid of him.

† The reference is to Artašir. Valiant: *'lbb*, as *Vk*; van Esbroeck suggests it may possibly hide a deformed Armenian name. It is notable that here, and in *Aa* §35, the Syriac version calls the Persian king "the great king of Tabriz." This unexpected title has a parallel in Armenian, in the curious medley of tales known as "Pseudo-Šapuh," or "the Anonymous Story-Teller," 55: A merchant, spying for Heraclius, sets out for Persia to find the place where the Cross had been stored after its capture from Jerusalem. He goes to the capital, *šahastan*, where the shah resides, "which they call the city of gold, that is, Tabriz, *T'awrēž*." But Artašir is not called "king of Tabriz" as such. It would seem to be a popular title for the Sasanian shah,

1. Notes at the bottom of the page give the major variants in the Greek translation of the Armenian text, *Ag*, not to be confused with the different recensions in the Greek texts *Vg* and *Vo*.

2. [Since the time …] *Ag*: + it was no longer able to stand for a long time.

3. *Ag*: + the brother of Artaban.

4. *Ag*: + and gathered his army.

only used after Tabriz became more famous in Muslim times. Tabriz is not mentioned in the Armenian *Geography* of the early seventh-century; but a pleasing folk etymology linking it with Xosrov's campaigns against Artašir, "*da ē vrēž*, that is revenge," is mentioned in the *Hayastani ew harakic' šrǰanneri telannuneri Bararan*, II, 417. In the Karshuni version, Tabriz is corrupted to *tpria.*

§19. Then at the start of the next year Xosrov king of Armenia began to raise forces and assemble an army. He gathered the armies of the Aluank' and the Virk', opened the Gates of the Alans and the Pass of the Čor, and brought through the army of the Huns in order to attack Persian territory and invade Asorestan as far as the gates of Ctesiphon.[5] He ravaged the whole country, ruining the populous cities and prosperous towns.† He left all the inhabited land devasted and plundered. He attempted to eradicate, destroy completely, extirpate and overthrow the Persian kingdom, and aimed at abolishing its institutions.[6] At the same time he made an oath[7] to seek vengeance with great rancour for their[8] loss of sovereignty; ruthlessly he attempted to exact thorough vengeance.* He was greatly puffed up,* relying on the multitude of his forces and trusting in the valour of his army.[9] There quickly arrived in support great numbers of strong and brave cavalry detachments, Aluank', Lp'ink', Čilpk', Kaspk', and others from those regions in order to seek vengeance for the blood of Artavan.

* I Macc. 9.42. * II Macc. 9.4.

† Cf. the later account of Xosrov's allies from the Caucasus in the *Georgian Chronicles*, 59 [Armenian text, 39, Thomson, 70]. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 71-73, offers a different account of Xosrov's attack on the Persians, introducing the Roman emperor Philip. For the various peoples mentioned in this paragraph see the relevant entries in Hewsen, *The Geography.*

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5. *Ag*: + and the Caspian gates.

6. He ravaged ... institutions: *Ag*, He zealously planned to eradicate completely the civilization of the Persians.

7. Made an oath: *Ag*, was eager.

8. Their: *Ag*, his brother's.

9. Army: *Ag*, allies.

§20. Because of his family relationship to that dynasty he was very grieved that they had submitted and accepted the upstart kingdom of the Stahrian and had united with him. Although Xosrov sent an embassy so that his relatives would support him and with his own kingdom resist,[10] and that there would also come to his aid [troops] from the regions of the Kušans,† brave peoples and valiant warriors, both from that area and their own land,[11] yet his relatives, the chiefs and princes and leaders of the Parthians paid no heed. For they had attached themselves in obedience and subjection to the rule of Artašir rather than to the rule of their own relative and brother.

† Although *Aa* here does not equate the Kušans with Xosrov's "relatives" [i.e. the Parthians], some Armenian authors do call the Kušans Arsacids; see the *Buzandaran*, V 7, 37, Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 67, and Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 384. Ełišē, 11, equates the Huns with the Kušans.

§21. Nonetheless, Xosrov took the host of his army, plus whatever[12] allies had arrived from various places to support him in the war.[13] When the Persian king saw the great size of this force bearing down upon him with enormous strength, he advanced against them in battle array. However, he was unable to resist them, and fled before them. In pursuit they cut down the whole army of the Persians, scattering corpses over the plains and roads,† and inflicting a cruel and unbearable defeat.[14] From this great slaughter the Armenian king returned victoriously with much booty and great joy to Armenia, to the province of Ayrarat and the city of Vałaršapat,† with great rejoicing, good renown and much plunder.[15]

† On stereotypical descriptions of wholesale slaughter in battle see the comments on oral epic in Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 30-35, and *ibid* Appendix V: "Epic and Scriptural Formulae," 586-596.

† Vałaršapat was founded in the second century AD, and was designated capital of Armenia by the Romans circa 163 as *Kainē Polis* [New City].

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10. With ... resist: *Ag*, resist the new kingdom.

11. And that ... land: *Ag*, *om*.

12. *Ag*: + very experienced.

13. *Ag*: + and went to Persia.

14. And inflicting ... defeat: *Ag*, *om*.

15. With ... plunder: *Ag*, *om*.

Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 65, offers a legendary account of its foundation; he also calls it *Nor K'ałak'* [Armenian for *Kainē Polis*], as in *Aa*, §150.

§22. Then he commanded that messengers be sent throughout the land, that edicts be composed, and vows be made to the seven altars of the temples of the cult of the images of the idols.† He honoured the sites of the ancestral worship of his Arsacid family with white bulls and white rams, white horses and white mules, gold and silver ornaments, fringed and tasseled silks, gold crowns and silver altars, splendid vases with precious gems, gold and silver, shining raiment and beautiful decoration.[16] He also took a fifth of the enormous booty he had collected and gave magnificent gifts to the priests. And to the soldiers who had accompanied him he gave gifts before dismissing them.

† The seven altars are the seven main cult sites later destroyed by Gregory: see below for the temples at Artašat, T'ordan, Ani, Erēz, T'il, Bagayaṙič, and Aštišat; for the form of the cult practices see Russell, "Armenian Religion," and *idem*, *Zoroastrianism*.

§23. Then at the beginning of the next year he gathered a great army,* summoning the same troops and even more, and spread raids over the regions of Asorestan, especially because forces of the Tačiks[17] had come to his support.† They plundered the whole land, and victoriously returned to their own places. For ten years they made continual incursions in this manner,† plundering all the border land[18] which was under the suzerainty and authority of the Persians.

* I Macc. 4.27-28.

† The Tačiks [*tačik*, *sarakēnoi* in *Ag*] are the Arabs of Mesopotamia. In later writers the term came to mean "Muslims," and then "Turks."

† Ten years: with the majority of MSS, *Ag* and Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 67 [here quoting from Agathangelos], although the editors print "eleven."

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16. Fringed ... decoration: *Ag*, gold and silver vessels, precious stones, and very expensive raiment, from his own possessions and his relatives for the honour and adornment of their revered places.

17. *Ag*: *Sarakēnoi*.

18. All the border land, *zamenayn erkir sahmanac'n*: *Ag*, *exousia*.

§24. But when the Persian king saw all these misfortunes which had befallen him, he was oppressed, afflicted, tormented and plunged into hesitation and doubt.* He summoned all the kings and governors and princes and generals and leaders and nobles of his realm, and they held council.† He begged them to seek and find a solution, promising all sorts of rewards. "If only someone be found," he said, "who will be able to exact vengeance," he promised to elevate him to second rank in his kingdom, if only some one would undertake to satisfy his great rancour.[19] "Only I and my throne will be above him, be he of very humble or of honourable origin." He promised to grant him all sorts of honours and gifts and rewards.[20]

* I Macc. 3.29-31.

† This list of officials is a rhetorical list, as in §791, not a precise description of different ranks. For lists of noble families see §795 and §873.

§25. Now there was in the council a leading chieftain of the Parthian realm, whose name was Anak.[21]† He arose, and coming forward promised to exact vengeance from his own family as if from an enemy.

† *Ag* states that Anak was "from the clan, *suggeneia*, of Xosrov," i.e. that he was an Arsacid. His Parthian ancestry [and hence Gregory's Parthian origin] is emphasised in what follows. *Vs* even claims that Anak was Xosrov's brother.

Syriac Vs: 6. Now Xosron had a brother called Anak. This Anak addressed the king of Tabriz and said: "Do not fear my brother, for if you wish I shall go and kill him by deceit."

§26. [The king] began to address him and said: "If only you carry out this revenge loyally, I shall return to you [your][22] native Parthian [land], your own Pahlav,[23] and I shall honour you with a crown and

19. If only ... rancour [three lines]: *Ag*, *om.*

20. He ... rewards: *Ag*, he will have equal honour with me from them.

21. *Ag*: + from the clan of king Xosrov.

22. *Ag*: + your original.

23. Your own Pahlav: *Ag*, *om.*

make you famous and honoured in my kingdom and call you second to me."†

† "Second to me." Cf. § 18 above for the position of the Armenian Arsacids.

§27. The Parthian replied and said: "Do you succour the rest of my family, while my blood brother and I today take our leave from you."[24]

§28. Then the Parthian made his preparations and arrangements, and with his brother, his household,[25] their wives and children and all his retinue, took his departure. He travelled, keeping an eye on the roads, and came to Armenia on the pretext of emigrating,[26] as if he had revolted against the Persian king. He met king Xosrov in the province of Uti, at the city of Xałxał, in the winter quarters of the Armenian kingdom.†

† Xałxał in Uti is NE of Lake Sevan. Ełišē, 75, states that it was the winter residence of the king of the Ałuank', while Łazar, 65, places it in the land of the Ałuank'.

Syriac Vs: 7. When the great king of Tabriz heard this, he rejoiced greatly and sent him off. All his forces travelled with Anak, and his wives and sons and all his house. He went along the road to go to meet his brother. 8. When he arrived at a certain city, his retinue camped in a certain place, and he went up the hill on which the apostle Addai had been martyred. He slept [there] that night with his wife, and she conceived by him Gregory who instructed all Armenia.

§29. When the Armenian king saw him, he gladly went to meet him and welcomed him with great joy—especially when he began to speak deceitfully and fraudulently with him and to show the sincerity of his coming. "I came to you," he said, "in order that we might be able to make common cause in seeking vengeance."

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24. *Ag*: + even if we escape, what [may be done] by others remains to be seen and is unclear.

25. His household: *Ag*, *om*.

26. Emigrating, *hatuac*: *Ag*, insurrection.

† It is noteworthy that the Syriac *Vs* has Anak meet Xosrov in Dvin, which became the administrative capital of Armenia after the fall of the Arsacid dynasty; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 460-461.

Syriac Vs: 9. Then, when he reached the city of Dvin and his brother Xosron heard about him, he went out to meet him with a large force. He received him with joy and said to him: "Behold I have slain many kings and inherited their lands. Stay now with me, so that you may be an assistant for me in this kingdom." 10. Anak said to him: "I have come for the purpose that our word may be one, and that we may subdue the whole world." Xosron gave him authority over all he possessed, and they remained that winter enjoying each other's company, and eating and drinking.

§30. Now when the king saw this man arriving with all his household, he sincerely believed in him. Then he honoured him in royal fashion, and established him in the second rank of his kingdom. And for the whole duration of that winter they passed the days of chilling winds and ice[27] in cheerfulness.

§31. But when the days of the warm southerly winds arrived to open the gates of spring, the king departed from those regions. They[28] descended to the province of Ayrarat, to the city of Vałaršapat. And while they[29] happily relaxed there, the king decided to gather an army and[30] invade Persian territory.*

* I Macc. 4.35.

Syriac Vs: 11. When summer arrived and the plants appeared, there was pasture for the cattle and the weather grew warm, then Xosron gathered all his army to make war on the great king of Tabriz.

§32. When the Parthian heard of this, he remembered the oath of his compact with the Persian king. He also remembered the promises

27. And ice: *Ag*, *om*.

28. They: *Ag*, he.

29. They: *Ag*, the king and the Parthian.

30. Gather … and: *Ag*, *om*.

of rewards,[31] and had a yearning for his own country which was called Pahlav.[32] So he decided on an evil plan. He and his blood brother took the king aside,† as if for recreation and to consult with him.* They had half-drawn their steel swords. Suddenly and unexpectedly they raised their weapons and struck the king dead to the ground. As soon as the news of this event was divulged, the lamentation of the crowd waxed strong.[33] Meanwhile, they had mounted their horses and fled.†

* II Macc. 4.46.

† Anak's brother is not named by Armenian sources. Anak's wife is called Oguhi by Yovhannēs Mamikonean and some later authors.

† The death of Xosrov is quite differently described in Ełišē, 72, who refers to his murder by his own brothers ["Trdat's uncles"].

Syriac Vs: 12. Anak his brother planned how he might have an opportunity to kill him in accordance with his promise to the great king of Tabriz. 13. When Xosron had gathered many forces and they were resting in a large and spacious plain facing the city of Dvin, one day when the brothers Xosron and Anak were walking in the plain and were discussing some affairs, Anak had with him a hidden sword. Then, when they were a long distance away from the camp, he struck Xosron with the sword. He left him lying and supposed: "I have struck [him to death]."

§33. When the nobles of the Armenian army learned of this, they split into groups and made pursuit. Some hastened by land to reach the head of the bridge at the gate of the town of Artašat; for the river Araxes had risen and was flowing full to both banks* with swollen masses of icy water from melting snow at the time of its flooding. The others passed over the bridge of the city of Vałaršapat, which is called the bridge of Mecamawr,[34]† and hastened on to the head of the bridge of Artašat. In a narrow passage of the road they arrested

31. *Ag*: + that he would control the realm of the Parthians and receive his ancestral rank.

32. Which ... Pahlav: *Ag om.*

33. As soon ... strong: *Ag*, someone immediately realised what had happened, and shouted with a loud cry.

34. Mecamawr: *Ag*, deep river.

them,[35] and from the bridge of Tap'er[36] they cast them into the river.† They themselves then returned with cries of woe and lamentation, and the whole land gathered and mourned the king.

* Jos. 3.15.

† Mecamawr: "Great swamp," not "deep river," as translated in *Ag*; cf. §206, where it is rendered "very deep river."

† The bridge of Tap'er crosses the Araxes just south of Artašat; see Hewsen, *Atlas*, 63, map no. 55. Cf. also *Buzandaran*, III 12.

Syriac Vs: 15. They pursued him and overtook him by the river which is in the plain of Dvin. They drowned him in the river, and killed the members of his house.

§34. Before the warm spirit had left his breast and he had breathed his last,* [king Xosrov] ordered the extermination of their family. Then they began to massacre and slaughter them.[37] From among the children they left not even those too young to know their right hand from their left;* likewise they exterminated the female side of the family by the sword. Only two infants from among the sons of the Parthian did someone[38] save and rescue through their nurses, who took them and fled:† the one to Persian territory, and the other to Greek territory.†

* II Macc. 7.14. * Jonah 4.11.

† Two sons: i.e. Gregory and his brother, who is not named by Agathangelos. Later authors know the latter as Surēn. His career and progeny are described by Sebēos, 73; the historian there describes the Arsacid king Xosrov as a "brigand," presumably using a Persian source. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 74, says: "God's care saved only the one [i.e. Gregory]," although he claims to be following Agathangelos.

† Greek territory: *I kolmans Yunac'*, i.e. the Eastern Roman [or Byzantine] empire, rendered in Greek as *en tois rōmaïkois topois*. In §36 *Ag* refers to *Rōmania*.

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35. Arrested them: *Ag*, surrounded the fugitives between the bridges of the river.

36. From the bridge of T'aper: *Ag*, *om*.

37. Then ... them: *Ag*, *om*.

38. *Ag*: + from their closest [relatives].

Syriac Vs: 14. When his servants came and saw him, they found that his breath still remained in him. He said to them: "Kill my brother and all the members of his house, and all the army with him." 16. But the nurse of Anak's son Gregory put Gregory in her bosom, he being still two months old. She saved him from the massacre, and fled to Greek territory.

§35. When the Persian king heard of all this he greatly rejoiced, and he made that day a great and joyous festival and carried out many vows to the fire-temples.[39]† He assembled an army and hastened to make incursions throughout the regions of Armenia. He brought into captivity men and beasts, old men and infants, youths and children alike.[40]

† Fire-temples: *atrušans*; see Benveniste, "Terminologie," 57. The Greek translator did not render the Armenian correctly by "the temples of the demons."

Syriac Vs: 18. Then, when the great king of Tabriz heard about the murder of Xosron, he was very happy. He took with him a large army, went to Dvin, and slew all the members of Xosron's house and all his nobles, and seized his country.

§36. Now one of the sons of Xosrov king of Armenia escaped from the raid,[41] an infant called Trdat.† His tutors took him and fled to the emperor's court in Greek territory.† Then the Persian king came and imposed his own name on Armenia, and put the Greek army[42] to flight, pursuing it to the borders of Greece. He had ditches dug to fix the frontier, and called the place "the Gate of Ditches," instead of the earlier title "the Pit."† And he deported the other inhabitants of the land,[43] and took possession of the country for himself.

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39. Fire-temples [*atrušanac'*]: *Ag*, temples of the demons.

40. And hastened ... alike: *Ag*, every age alike he took captive, and forcibly seized [the country].

41. Raid: *Ag*, captivity.

42. Greek army: *Ag*, the occupying generals.

43. And ... land: *Ag*, *om*.

† An infant: *mankik mi p'ok'rik*. It is noteworthy that only the Greek MS *L* renders this as "not a very small child, *ou mikrotaton paidion*," in contrast to all other Greek manuscripts, "*smikrotaton paidion*, a very small child." The direct translation of the Greek in the Arabic version *Aar*, agrees with *L*. Possibly the scribe of *L*, who also introduced the Artašir romance, was aware of the Greek tradition concerning Trdat's escape; see the Introduction, 41. On the other hand, this may reflect a misrendering of the Armenian *mi* as if it were the negative particle, not the indefinite adjective, since a negative here would have been *oč'*.

† According to Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 76, it was Artavazd Mandakuni who brought Trdat to the royal court. Given Movsēs' bias against the Mamikonean family [since he was a supporter of the rival Bagratunis], he habitually changes "Mamikonean" to "Mandakuni." The only Artavazd mentioned by Agathangelos is the one who later brought Gregory's sons to Armenia, §860. Although his family name is not given, he is described as *sparapet*, which was an office held by the Mamikonean family; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 560-561. See below, §121, for the occasion when Trdat learned of Gregory's origin.

† The Pit: *Soyzn*. The stem *soyz* is only found elsewhere in combination; see Ačaṙean, *Hayerēn Armatakan Baṙaran,* s.v. *Ag* renders "place of abyss."

Syriac Vs : 19. Now Xosron had a son three years old, who was called Trdat. His nurse took him in flight to Greek territory, to the tyrant Licinius; and she informed him that he was the son of the king of the Armenians. He honoured him greatly, and he became a strong and manly youth.

§37. After his arrival Tiridates† was raised and educated in the house of a certain count called Licinius.† On the other hand, the son of the Parthian, who had taken refuge in Greek territory, was brought up and educated in Caesarea the city of Cappadocia. A relative brought him up through tutors in the fear of Christ; he received a Christian education, became acquainted with the scriptures of God, and drew near to the fear of the Lord.[1] His name was Gregory.† When he had discovered from his tutors[2] the deeds committed[3] by his father, he went to Tiridates and voluntarily entered his service. But he hid his identity, and did not reveal whose [son][4] he was, or whence or how or why [he had come]. He gave himself over to his employ, and served him obediently.

† Tiridates. In this section the form *Trdatēs* is generally found instead of the standard Armenian *Trdat*. Cf. §134, 800, *Trdatios*. This implies that Agathangelos was drawing on accounts from different sources.

† Licinius: Caesar 308-324, an ally of Constantine, with whom he proclaimed toleration of Christians in the "Edict of Milan" in 313. But they later fell out, and he was defeated in battle in 324; see *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I, 509-510 [Licinius, no. 4], and the bibliography to §868 for his relations with Constantine. Agathangelos later includes him among the "impious kings" destroyed by Constantine, anachronistically grouping him with Diocletian, Maximian and Maxentius, §868. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 79, notes that Gregory lived in the palace of Licinius.

† Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 80, gives quite a different account of Gregory's upbringing. That tradition must have been known to the translator of *Ag*, who notes that Gregory was "known to a certain Christian," which hardly fits the later reputation of Licinius.

Syriac Vs: 17. She dwelt in the city of Neocaesarea, and there became a Christian. She brought Gregory up in complete fear of God and in the

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1. A relative ... Lord: *Ag*, Being known to a certain Christian, he was taught the fear of God and became well acquainted with the teaching of Christ and divine training.

2. From his tutors: *Ag*, *om*.

3. *Ag*: + long before.

4. Whose [son]: *Ag*, who.

reading of the holy scriptures. 20. Now Gregory was his cousin. When he reached the age of fifteen years, his nurse married him to a wife, and a son was born to him from her. He called his name Vrt'anes. And another [son] was born to him, and he named him Aristakes. And Gregory asked his nurse about his ancestors. 21. Then she told him the whole history of his ancestors, how his father had killed his brother, and how he was killed himself, and also about Trdat his cousin who had been saved and was with the tyrant Licinius. 22. Then Gregory summoned his wife and admonished her at length that they should abandon the world and live in purity, and she yielded to him in this. 23. Then he left her and his sons, and went and sought out his cousin in order to serve him in return for the blood of his father, whom Anak, Gregory's father, had slain. 24. When he was with him he provided him great service in the fear of God, from all his heart without a murmur. And Trdat was greatly amazed at Gregory.

§38. In those times the ruler of the Greeks was engaged in persecuting the church of God.† When Tiridates discovered that Gregory was a member of the Christian cult,[5] he thenceforth began to castigate him and inflicted all sorts of vexations on him. Often he imprisoned and bound him and tormented him, that he might abandon the worship of Christ and submit to the impure cult of the vain gods.

† In those times: Agathangelos has jumped to the time when Gregory and Trdat had reached adulthood, but before Trdat was restored to the throne of Armenia. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 79, places the latter's heroic actions in the reigns of Probus [276-282] and Carus [282-283]. The emperor who "persecuted the church of God" may be intended as a reference to Diocletian, the most famous of such persecutors in Armenian tradition, who figures prominently in the story of the martyrdoms below. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 75, refers to three persecuting emperors, Maximian [a mistake for Maximin, 235-238], Decius [249-251], and Diocletian [284-305].

Syriac Vs: 27. Although Trdat put much pressure on Gregory, he did not persuade him. And he promptly left him [alone].

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5. A member ... cult: *Ag*, a Christian.

§39. At about that time the ruler of the Goths raised an army and assembled many forces and came to wage war with the ruler of the Greeks.† He sent messages to the following effect: "Why do we go forth to join battle, to destroy our armies, and at the same time bring disaster and tribulation on the country?[6] Behold, I shall come forth as a champion from my army to challenge you, and do you [come forth] from the Greeks. Let us meet in a place of battle.[7] If I vanquish you, the Greeks will submit to my rule. And if you vanquish me, our lives[8] will be subject to you and in your hands. And let the prosperity of both sides be spared blood and slaughter."[9]

† Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 79, places the war with the Goths in the reign of Probus.

Syriac Vs: 28. There was at that time a harsh tyrant, a powerful man as strong as possible; he was at war with Diocletian. And because of his confidence in his strength he sent word to Diocletian as follows: 29. "We do not seek that [our two] sides fight with each other, or there be shedding of blood between us. But let me and you met each other; and whichever kills his fellow, his will be all the kingdom."

§40. When the king of the Greeks heard all this he was afraid, because they did not accept battle in fixed order, army opposing army. He was unable to accept the proposition,[10] because he was weak in bodily strength. He was disconcerted and terrified, because he did not know what reply to give.

Syriac Vs: 30. When the messenger reached Diocletian, he kept him with him. And he sent to all his realm that they should gather an army and come to him.

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6. The country: *Ag*, the cities.

7. Let ... battle: *Ag*, let us fight in single combat.

8. Our lives: *Ag*, our people.

9. Let ... slaughter: *Ag*, let both sides have peace and safety without the shedding of blood.

10. Because ... proposition: *Ag*, *om.*

§41. Then the king ordered that edicts and messengers[11] should be sent to the nobles and troops[12] of his command, that wherever they might be they[13] should come to him immediately. Then the nobles and troops and princes[14] hastened to his presence. Licinius also took his own force that was under his command,* and hastened to the battlefield to meet the king;[15] and Tiridates was with him.

* III Macc. 1.2.

Syriac Vs: 31. Then Licinius, with whom was Trdat, Gregory's cousin, gathered a numerous army, about five thousand, took with him Trdat, and went off. They arrived at Diocletian's city at the beginning of the night.

§42. While the troops of his army were still on their way, they happened to enter a narrow place in a sunken path through the vineyard and barns[16] leading to the gates of the city. Now the gates of the city were locked, it being midnight. Since no forage could be found for the horses of the vast army in the middle of the night,[17] they looked around and saw in a walled pen a great pile of hay. But no one was able to lay hand on it because of the height of the wall. Then Tiridates climbed over and threw back heaps of it to the troops until there was enough.[18] He also threw the guards and many donkeys† over the wall to the troops, and then he himself climbed back.

† Many donkeys. The text is corrupt here, the more plausible readings being *bazums išean*, "many donkeys," as in *Ag*, or *bazums i šanc'*, "many of the dogs."

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11. And messengers: *Ag*, *om*.
12. Nobles and troops: *Ag*, generals.
13. Wherever ... they: *Ag*, they all.
14. Troops and princes: *Ag*, generals.
15. And ... king: *Ag*, and came with them all.
16. In ... barns: *Ag*: between the fences of the vineyards.
17. Of ... night: *Ag*, *om*.
18. *Ag*: + for the horses.

Syriac Vs: 32. They sought that their beasts be nourished, but they did not find anything for them because the gates were closed. Then Trdat saw one of the towers of the city which was very high. He took a long rope, attached an iron fork to its end, and threw it to the top of the tower. 33. He climbed up into the city, and found in the tower many beasts and bundles of straw kept for the nourishment of the beasts. 34. Now Trdat, although still not yet twenty years old, was so mighty in strength beyond words that he picked up a donkey, put it inside bundles of hay, and threw it down below for the troops. 35. In this way he threw down provisions for them until there was sufficient for all. Then he descended. He did this in order to demonstrate his strength. Then Licinius and all his large army were amazed at him.

§43. When Licinius saw this great feat of strength,† he was amazed. So after the morning had dawned and the gates of the city were opened and all the troops[19] had entered inside, Licinius went to meet the king with all the magnates and generals and officers and nobles.

† Great feat of strength: for Trdat's prowess see further §123, 181, and 202. Such tales fall into the category of martial epic dear to the author of the *Buzandaran*. For lost epic on a larger scale see Russell, "The Lost Epic of Tigran."

Syriac Vs: 36. When it was morning and the gates had been opened, Licinius and the force with him entered the city and he went to Diocletian.

§44. The king told his nobles the whole message of the king of the Goths. Then Licinius began to speak with the sovereign and said: "Let my lord's heart not be disturbed. There is here in your court a man by whom this affair[20] can be managed. His name is Tiridates, and he is from the family of the king of Armenia." And he reported his deeds of strength the previous night. Then he gave a command and they brought Tiridates before the king,[21] and he told him

19. All the troops: *Ag*, the generals with the troops.

20. Affair: *Ag*, problem.

21. Before the king: *Ag*, *om*.

everything in order. Then they arranged a time for the duel, that they would meet each other in combat the next morning.

Syriac Vs: 37. When he saw that his face was gloomy and sad, he addressed him and said: "What is the reason that the king is so distressed?" 38. Diocletian said to him: "That insolent tyrant sent a message to me: We do not seek that there be shedding of blood between us, but let you and I meet each other; and whichever is stronger than his fellow, his will be the whole kingdom. And I know that he is a man mighty in strength and warlike." 39. The king [mlk', i.e. Licinius] said to him: "Do not be distressed at that, because there is with me a strong youth, Trdat, son of Xosrov king of Armenia, the like of whom I have never seen. Now when we arrived in the evening and found the gates closed, we remained outside. And we had nothing to feed our beasts. 40. This Trdat climbed up into the city, found beasts and hay, took a donkey and tied it up in bundles of hay, and threw it down to us through his mighty strength. It sufficed for the whole army. Eat and drink now, and be cheerful, because he will slay the tyrant." 41. Diocletian was astonished when he heard that. He had Trdat brought, and spoke to him about that tyrant. Trdat responded, saying: "Do not be distressed, my lord king. But only promise me that when I have overcome him, you will give me an army so that I may retake the kingdom of my fathers." And the king promised him that he would do that. 42. Then Diocletian sent back the messenger to the tyrant, and said to him: "Prepare that we meet each other in combat."

§45. At dawn on the next day[22] he ordered him to be clothed in purple, and they robed Tiridates with imperial garb and put on him the royal emblem.[23] No one recognised him, so the word went out to everyone that it was the emperor himself.[24] He left† the body of the vast army, and with the sound of the trumpet advanced rapidly[25]* to meet the enemy. When the impersonated emperor and the king[26]

22. On the next day: *Ag*, *om*.

23. Emblem, *nšan*: *Ag*, diadem.

24. So ... himself: *Ag*, except the emperor.

25. Rapidly: *Ag*, *om*.

26. *Ag*: + of the Goths.

came face to face,[27] they whipped the flanks of their horses and charged each other. Then the impersonated emperor overthrew the king,[28] and seizing him brought him before the emperor.

* I Macc. 9.12.

† Left: reading *haneal*, not the printed *aṙeal*; see the apparatus, *ad loc.*

Syriac Vs: 43. When they had come to battle and the lines had been drawn up, they dressed Trdat in Diocletian's clothes, and also put on his head his crown and put on him his armour and mounted him on the royal horse. 44. The tyrant addressed him, saying: "Let not our battle lines fight against each other, but let you and me fight alone. And whichever of us is victorious, his will be the kingdom." 45. So Trdat went out to oppose him in the royal clothes and armour, the royal crown placed on his head, and said: "Here I am." 46. Then the tyrant tried to smite Trdat with his spear and topple him from his horse. But Trdat grasped [his own] lance in his hand, rushed on the tyrant and threw him from his horse; he picked him up with his hand, and brought him to Diocletian. He returned his horse to the camp.

§46. Then the emperor greatly honoured Tiridates and bestowed handsome gifts on him. He crowned his head with a diadem, decorated him with the purple, and honoured him with imperial attire. He entrusted to him a great army for his support, and sent him to his own land of Armenia.[29]†

† Movsēs Xorenacʻi, II 82, dates Trdat's restoration to Diocletian's third year [287-288]; but Trdat did not regain Armenia until after the peace of Nisibis, which followed the defeat of Narsē by Galerius in 298. See Dignas and Winter, 84-88, and 180. On the problem of the various Armenian kings named Trdat see the Introduction, 40-41.

Syriac Vs: 47. Diocletian and all his nobles rejoiced greatly, and he took the kingdom of that tyrant. Diocletian put a crown on Trdat, gave him a large army, and sent him to his country so that he might retake the kingdom of his fathers.

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27. *Ag*: + in a mighty clash.

28. *Ag*: + of the Goths.

29. Of Armenia: *Ag*, *om*.

§47. So after his victorious show of strength, Trdat, king of Greater Armenia, returned from Greek territory. The king hastened to Armenia; when he arrived[30] he found there a numerous[31] army of Persians, for they had subdued the country to themselves. Many he slaughtered, and many he threw back in flight to Persia. And he brought under his own sway his ancestral realm and took control of its borders.*

* I Macc. 2.46.

Arabic Va [Sinai 455. Ter-Łevondyan notes that some preceding lines must have been erased]: *This occurred in the time of king Diocletian, the emperor who ruled over the city of Rome. And there ruled over the Parthians and Armenians a king called Trdat. They informed king Trdat that there was in his land a man called Gregory who worshipped Christ and mocked the gods. The king had him sought out. When they brought him, the king threatened and frightened him with various tortures. He said to him: "If you do not abandon the worship of Christ, and in submission to me do not worship my gods, then I shall not free you from torments, from bonds and prison [...]. Meanwhile a report came from the king of Rome, Diocletian, that: "[the enemy] has come to attack us in force." For that reason he [Licinius] sent word to Trdat, summoning him to help in the war, because Trdat was a valiant warrior. Then he ordered Gregory to be imprisoned, went off to war, won the victory and was triumphant.*

Syriac Vs: 48. Gregory too accompanied him. And when Trdat reached the river Euphrates, he encountered the Arabs [Tayaye] who were there, and he destroyed them all. Then he crossed the land of Qlaesura and fortified it. From there he entered the territory of his fathers.

30. The king ... arrived: *Ag*, When the king arrived in Armenia.

31. Numerous: *Ag*, *om*.

§48. In the first year of the reign of Trdat of Greater Armenia, they[1] went to the province of Ekeleac'† to the village of Erēz, to the temple of Anahit[2] in order to sacrifice there.† And when they had completed this unworthy deed, they went down and encamped on the bank of the river called Gayl.[3]†

† The province of Ekeleac' is on the upper Euphrates; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 461.

† The temple of Anahit at Erēz [modern Erzinjan; see Hewsen, *Geography*, 152, for the town and province] was famous in antiquity for the cult of Anahit; see Strabo, *Geography*, XI 14.16. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 14, gives the Greek deity's name as Artemis, and claims that Tigran II set up her statue here. But see the Introduction to Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i II*, 28, for the source of Movsēs' information and the way in which he gives historical "explanations."

† River Gayl, Lykos in *Ag*. There are two rivers of this name; see Hewsen, *Geography*, 153. Here the tributary of the Euphrates is intended, not the more famous Lykos, the modern Yeşıl Irmak, which flows into the Black Sea.

Arabic Va: On returning to the land of Armenia he came to the city called Erez, where there was a temple of Artemis whom they worshipped. He pitched his tents on the river called Gayl, and offered sacrifices to her.

Syriac Vs: 49. When he saw their idols, he worshipped them; and they made great sacrifices to the carved [statues]. He requested help from them, saying: "Because my fathers neglected you, you turned away from† them. But I am requesting you to help me, and I shall honour you greatly."

† Emending *'smitwn* to *'hmitwn.*

§49. When he had entered his tent and had sat down to dinner, and when they had gone into wine,† the king ordered Gregory to present to the altar of Anahit's statue offerings of crowns and thick

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1. They: *Ag*, the king and the army.

2. Anahit: *Ag*, Artemis. The standard Greek rendering throughout; *see* note to *Aa*.

3. Gayl: *Ag*, Lykos. *See* note.

branches of trees.† But he did not agree to serve the worship of the gods.[4]

† Gone into wine: *ĕnd ginin mtin.* This refers to an offering or libation after eating and before drinking; see Russell, "Vardavaṙ."

† Thick branches: *t'aws osts*, as II Macc. 14.4. Cf. the *t'aw ostawk'* used in the worship of Bacchus in II Macc. 6.7, with parallels in II Macc. 10.7. Tree worship in the Caucasus is prominent in the *History of the Aluank'* by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, e.g. II 4.1. But here Iranian parallels are more important; see the discussion in Garsoïan, "Prolegomena," 202-206, n. 36-38, especially regarding the *barsmunk'* [that feature in Eznik and other Armenian authors]. Note also the parallel from the Greek *Suda*, where a Christian in the entourage of Licinius refused to offer a cutting from a vine to a statue of Dionysius, cited in Millar, *The Emperor*, 52.

Greek Vg: 1. In those times, when Tiridates was reigning in Greater Armenia, there was a great persecution of the Christians. Saint Gregory approached, and the king said to him: "Come Gregory, sacrifice to the gods and be our friend, as [you were] from the beginning." Saint Gregory said to the king: "O king, I shall not do that, to offer worship to idols or dedicate anything to the dead."

Arabic Va: When he sat down to dinner, he drank, became animated and cheerful, and remembered the blessed Gregory. He ordered him to be brought to his presence. The king said to him: "Gregory, take incense, branches and boughs, go to the temple of Artemis, and worship and honour her." But the blessed Gregory did not take anything, nor did he go.

Syriac Vs [Note the very different order]: *50. He ordered Gregory to worship the idols. But Gregory said to him: "I shall not abandon God who made heaven and earth, the day and night, the sun, moon and stars, the seas and rivers, the mountains and hills, the animals and beasts, the reptiles, birds of prey and birds. 51. He also made man in his image, and gave him authority over all these. And he created things visible and invisible. Shall I worship carved [statues], the work of men's hands, which are affected by neither honour or disgrace?" 52. Although Trdat urged him at length, he did not heed him. He addressed him and said:*

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4. Gods, *dic'n*: *Ag*, idols.

"Instead of pre-eminence and the kingdom that I was intending to give you, now I shall slay you cruelly."

§50. Then the king began to speak with Gregory and said: "You have come and joined us as a stranger and foreigner.[5]† How then do you dare to worship that God whom I do not worship?" And he ordered him to be imprisoned for that day. The next morning he commanded and they brought Gregory before the king.

† Foreigner: *anašxarhik*, i.e. someone not of [our] land. Gregory is here taken to be from Cappadocia, his Parthian origin not yet having been revealed. The translation in *Ag*, *aperistatos*, does not render the sense exactly, meaning "destitute."

Greek Vg: 2. The king said: "When you came to me, in the first place you stated that you were from the land of the Armenians. But now neither your ancestry nor your native land seems apparent. You have become an obscure and unknown friend to us. How do you not bear to serve the gods whom we serve and [share] in our ancestral rites?" And he ordered him to be imprisoned until the next morning.

Arabic Va: The king said to him: "You are a stranger and have no estate [mīrāṯ] in this land. You came to us and we welcomed you, not a little but greatly. How have you dared to worship a god that I do not worship?" He ordered him to be imprisoned that day.

Syriac Vs: 25. One day he summoned Gregory and said to him: "Your service and obedience are very fine. The only thing lacking in you is that you do not worship the gods. If you carry that out also and worship the gods, I shall give you authority over all that I possess, and you shall be my second."

§51. The king began to speak with Gregory and said:[6] "It is these many years that I have known you, and you have served me faithfully with all your power. I have been very satisfied with your labours, and I intended to reward you. Why then do you not do my will?"

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5. Foreigner: *Ag*, destitute.

6. Began … said: *Ag*, said to him.

Greek Vg: 3. On the following day they brought saint Gregory, and the king said to him: "I have had experience of your labours in a foreign country; and bearing in mind your services for me, I wished to reward you with honours and gifts."

Arabic Va: When the next day came round, he ordered him to be brought. He said: "How much time it is that I have been acquainted with you, and I know that with all your heart you have served me. I am grateful to you and thank you for your labours. I had decided to reward you commensurably with your deeds, hence you should obey me."

§52. Gregory replied and said: "It is commanded by God: 'Servants should be obedient to their bodily lords,'* as is right and as you have borne witness to me that I have served you with all my power. But it is not fitting to pay to anyone else the honour and worship due to God; for he alone is the Creator of heaven and of the angels, who glorify his majesty,[7] and of earth and of men, who have been fashioned by him, and whose duty it is to worship him and do his will; [as also should] everything else that is in them, in the sea and on land."[8]

* Eph. 6.5.

Greek Vg: 4. Gregory said to the king: "The divinely-inspired scriptures say that it is necessary to be obedient to bodily rulers. As you said, I have served you from my whole heart. But it is not right to offer to another the worship and honour [due] to the living God. He alone is lord of men and angels, who perpetually glorify his ineffable majesty. For he established the earth, and he himself fashioned man so that he might do his commandments and worship [him] on all occasions, and every breath in heaven and earth and sea should praise the Creator and giver of life."

Arabic Va: Gregory replied and said: "It is written: 'Servants should be obedient to bodily lords.' Do now what you wish. Just as you have testified to me, I have served you with all my soul. But my faith, honour

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7. Who ... majesty: *Ag*, *om*.

8. Who ... land: *Ag*, and of all created things visible and invisible and of all those who should worship and serve him.

and worship I shall not give to any other save the living, true God; for he alone is creator of heaven and earth, and the angels glorify him. Men who live on earth serve and worship him, and carry out his will."

Syriac Vs: 26. Gregory said to him: "I shall not worship what is made by hands, because there is no advantage in them; not even themselves can they help. I shall serve you, and I shall receive recompense from God who made heaven and earth and everything in them, whom I worship."

§53. The king said: "Know that you have made useless the services which you have rendered me and to which I am witness. So instead of the rewards which [I] should have bestowed on you,[9] I shall increase affliction upon you; and instead of honour, dishonour; and instead of giving rank and promotion, prison and bonds and death, which removes all hope of life for men—unless you agree to offer worship to the gods, and especially to the great lady Anahit. She is the glory of our nation and our saviour; her all kings honour, especially the king of the Greeks. She is the mother of all virtues,[10] benefactor of all human nature, and the offspring of the great and noble Aramazd.[11]†

† Aramazd: Zeus in *Ag*, the standard rendering, as in Movsēs Xorenacʻi's descriptions of Greek deities. For the cults of Anahit and Aramazd see Russell, "Armenian Religion."

Greek Vg: 5. Angered, Tiridates said: "You have destroyed your labours that you provided for me. So now I shall exchange for you in place of the freedom which you possessed, restriction in prison; in place of honours, dishonour; in place of gifts and prosperity, bonds and a sentence that removes the hope of life—unless you zealously turn to the worship of our gods, especially of the great Artemis, who grants to our nation the greatest glory and life. For even the Caesar of the Romans, Diocletian, governs the whole world by revering the gods."

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9. Which … you: *Ag*, *om.*

10. Virtues, *zgastutʻeancʻ*: *Ag*, *sōphrosynē*.

11. Aramazd: *Ag*, Zeus. This is the standard Greek rendering throughout.

Arabic Va: The king said: "Why have you rendered worthless your service, which I acknowledge? I see that you compel me to humble you instead of the honour which I wished to give you; to torment you instead of raising your rank. After that I shall commit you to death and deprive you of life, if you do not obey me and worship my gods, especially the mother of the gods, the great Artemis, who is our support and that of all peoples. Through her the whole world exists, and her all kings honour, as also the king of Rome."

§54. Gregory said: "I have served you loyally. I myself would never make my services useless, for it is written[12] by God: 'One should serve one's bodily lords,'* because such the Lord recompenses with blessings. I had no expectation that I would receive compensation from you but from the Creator, whose works are all creatures visible and invisible.

* Eph. 6.5.

Greek Vg: 6. Saint Gregory said to him: "I have not destroyed my labours for you, but have fulfilled obedience to an earthly master according to scripture, so that I might receive recompense from the living God who commands [us] to do these things, the maker of all things visible and invisible. For I did not hope to receive from you temporary gifts, [but rather I hope for] the future eternal blessings.

Arabic Va: Gregory said: "With all my heart I have served you. And I think that my labour is not useless, as it is written: 'Servants, obey your lords loyally,' because we receive from heaven ... not from you that I wish to acquire reward for serving you, but from the Creator of heaven and of creatures visible and invisible.

§55. "As for your saying 'I shall increase affliction for you rather than rewards,' by removing me from this life[13]† you will merely increase the joy of Christ that has been prepared for me.* His majesty is eternal, his kingdom passes not away,* and his blessings

12. Written: *Ag*, commanded.

13. By ... life: *Ag*, *om*.

do not fail. And instead of the honour which you call dishonour,[14] you will grant me the honour of the angels, the joyous praisers of their Creator.

* Jn. 14.2-3. * Dan. 7.27.

† Life: Gregory makes a play on words here, for the Armenian *keank'* also means "rewards, wealth," as above in Trdat's threats.

Greek Vg: 7. When you speak threatening dishonour in place of honour, and prison and death, you prepare for me life and proximity to Christ our God, and enjoyment of the everlasting delight of the eternal God, of whose kingdom there will be no end, nor limit to his bounty. By bringing me to worthlessness instead of honour, you propel me to the life of the angels.

Arabic Va: But instead of reward you threaten to increase my torments. Understand that thereby you increase that joy which Christ has prepared for me, who is an eternal God, and his kingdom passes not away. Instead of the honour that you promised me, you wish to torment me; but thereby you bring me closer to the joy of the angels.

§56. As for your saying 'instead of giving rank and promotion[15] I shall cast you into prison and bonds,' I shall be blessed to accept the example of my Lord's bonds; and[16] with him I shall be happy and rejoice in the day of his coming. By depriving me of your company at table, you will merely cast me into the company of Abraham,† the father of the faith, and of all the just who will rejoice in the kingdom of God.*

* Mt. 8.11.

† The company [or "guests"] of Abraham: *bazmakans* [*aṙ hawrn hawatoy*] *Abrahamu*, a reference to the messianic banquet, a common theme in the *Teaching*; see further the note to §149.

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14. Instead ... dishonour: *Ag*, instead of honour you said you would inflict dishonour; in reality.

15. And promotion: *Ag*, *om*.

16. And: *Ag*, so that.

Greek Vg: By throwing me into bonds, you prepare for me blessing, establishing me as a participant in the bonds of Christ, who for our sake accepted sufferings and bonds. For with delight I shall stand in the presence of the Lord's glory. By proposing to deprive me of your company at table, you prepare for me nourishment in paradise with the father of the faith, Abraham, and all the just.

Arabic Va: As for your threats that you will hand me over to prison and bonds, realise that thereby you bring me closer to blessedness, because I shall accept the bonds like my lord, and thus I shall rejoice and delight in the great day of his coming. You wish to reject me from your table, yet you do not know that thereby you turn me into a companion of the faith of father Abraham and of the joy of God's table in the kingdom with all the saints.

§57. "And as for your threatening me with death, you merely join me to the band of Christ,† where are all those called,[17] the fathers and the just, the prophets and the apostles, the martyrs and all the elect.[18]

† Band of Christ: *gund*, a common expression for Christians, especially saints; cf. Koriwn, 38, for Maštoc' joining the *xač'akir gund*, "crusading band," in the sense of eremitical ascetics. The same phrase is used in §864 of Trdat as a zealous Christian after his conversion. See further Lampe, s.v. *choros*.

Greek Vg: And by threatening me with death, you give me life and bring me close to Christ, from whom all we the just have hope of eternal life by serving the living God.

Arabic Va: By threatening me with a cruel death, you send me a taste ... which is the dwelling-place of the prophets, apostles, martyrs and lovers of God.

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17. Called, *koc'ec'ealk'*: *Ag*, members of the band, *choreuontes*; cf. *choros*, "band" just above.

18. *Ag*: + of God.

§58. "As for your saying 'by death I shall cut off hope of life,' just as your own hope is cut off, so the hope of all who serve and love God is strengthened.[19] But those who are like you who worship gods that are mute and lifeless, the work of men's hands,* truly you are without hope of the true[20] life of God.

* Wis. 14.29, Is. 46.6.

Greek Vg: But you, who sacrifice to the dead and to lifeless idols, are dead [yourselves] and cast out from eternal life.

Arabic Va: You say that you will cut me off from [this] visible life. But it is not the case that in this way you bring me closer to the right faith which will cause those who love God to inherit eternal life; you, and everyone who worships idols which are lifeless and the work of men's hands [are deprived of it].

§59. "Now as for the one whom you call the great lady Anahit,[21] there may well have been some such person at some time. For the demons, by impious magic and by assuming various deceiving forms, persuaded the men who lived at that time to build temples and set up images and worship them.† But they do not really exist;[22] they can do neither harm nor good to anyone; they can neither honour their worshippers nor dishonour those who insult them. You are deranged[23] when you worship them in the folly of your minds. Instead of God, whose blessings you enjoy, you are worshipping objects of wood and stone and gold and silver, which God has established for the service and needs and glory[24] of mankind.

† See the Introduction to Thomson, *Agathangelos* 1976, xli-xlii, for Agathangelos's ideas on the origin of idolatry.

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19. Just as ... strengthened: *Ag*, not mine, but your hope is cut off from all those who serve God; but the hope of those who love God is strengthened, which I myself possess.

20. True: *Ag*, *om*.

21. *Ag*: + you deceive yourself; for the situation regarding them is not so.

22. Temples...exist: *Ag*, altars and to set up stelae and worship these useless things.

23. Deranged: *Ag*, darkened.

24. Needs and glory: *Ag*, enjoyment and need.

Greek Vg: 8. As for Artemis whom you call a great goddess, being lifeless she dispatches your soul to eternal punishment, providing you with nothing useful. For when you revere carved [images] of gold, silver and wood as alive, you dishonour yourselves—living beings serving dead ones. God gave these materials for the use of men; by honouring them you become blind, unaware of your own destruction.

Arabic Va: You say that the great Artemis is the mother of the gods; but understand that now hope has been exalted and the light of truth has appeared. In those times the unbelievers adored and worshipped Satan, and through their foul means led mankind astray, who erected temples to man-made [objects], that is, for idols, and worshipped them. But they are not able to do good or even evil; they do not honour their worshippers, nor do they punish their detractors. Yet you, because of your folly, ignorantly serve them. You have abandoned God who granted you blessings, and you worship stones, wood, silver ... for the service of man.

§60. But let me in all obedience* and all sincerity and fear worship God the Creator and the Son the Establisher and the Spirit the Disposer of all creatures,† who made everything[25] and can destroy and renew again by his mercy. Our life is not hopeless, for we worship the living one[26] who can give us life when he wishes.* Although we die, yet we live. Just as the Son of God died and rose and by his resurrection[27] showed us the model of life,† so we who die for his sake will come alive* when the kingdom of the Creator[28] will be revealed to his creatures,[29] when he will seek vengeance for impiety, rigorously demanding it with impartial judgment from all alike."[30]*

* I Tim. 2.11. * Rom. 4.17. * I Thess. 5.9. * II Thess. 1.8-9.

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25. The Creator ... everything: *Ag*, for he created everything from nothing with his only-begotten Son and the holy Spirit.

26. One: *Ag*, and true God.

27. By his resurrection: *Ag*, of resurrection *post* "life."

28. Of the Creator: *Ag*, his.

29. To his creatures, *Ag*, *om*.

30. He ... alike: *Ag*, the impious will pay retribution at the judgment of the impartial judge.

† Creator, establisher, disposer: *ararič, hastič', kazmič'*. The first is standard; *hastič'* is applied to God the creator in I Pet. 4.19, rendering the Greek *ktistēs*. *Kazmič'* [not in the Armenian Bible] is equated with *ararič'* in Eznik, §354. For the verb *kazmel*, "fashioning" the world, cf. §63.

† Model: *awrinak*; cf. the "example" of Enoch in §76. This is an important term in the allegorical sense of "type;" see the discussion in *Teaching II*, 21-23.

Greek Vg: But let me worship and serve God the maker of all, and the Son who with the Father established everything, and the life-giving holy Spirit.

Arabic Va: But I, in awe and submission, worship God the creator of all, the Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and the living Holy Spirit, who with the Father and the Son is the Regulator of all. He is able to kill or to vivify everything. Our life is eternal, because we worship our Saviour, God. And although we die, we shall remain alive. By the death and resurrection of his Son he revealed to us the path to resurrection. We, who die for him, will be alive on the awesome day of his coming. We shall acquire from him the promised reward in return for the deeds worked against us by the impious.

§61. The king said: "As for your statement 'from you I expected nothing, nor have I need,' I know that you are seeking death and[31] recompense for yourself in the tomb, where are the former men who died. I shall quickly[32] send you where you wish to go. But show me who that Christ may be, that I may know who might be that recompenser* of your labours, whom you call Creator. Could he be some ruler of tombs whom you wish to meet,† or is he one who will free you from your imprisoning bonds?

* Rom. 2.6, II Tim. 4.8.

† Ruler of tombs: *šahapet*, not biblical. It appears in Eznik, §138, where Mariès translates it as "génie tutélaire." In *Aa* §64 the phrase is used of Christ, but here Trdat seems to imply an alternative lord of Hell [for whom cf. Ełišē's *Homilies*, 297]. Russell, *Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i*, 190, suggests a

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31. Death and: *Ag*, *om.*

32. Quickly: *Ag*, *om.*

reference to the role of Christ as *psychopompos*, the "guide of souls;" cf. also Russell, "Armenian Religion," 442.

Greek Vg: 9. The king said to Gregory: "What then is your life, and who is the Christ, and what is the holy Spirit that you speak of? Tell me briefly.

Arabic Va: The king said: "You say that from me you do not wish reward, nor do you have need of it. I know that you despise me, and therefore you have no need of my honouring [you]. Behold, I shall send you where you will obtain reward with those who died before you ... who I know ... according to your works, about whom you say that he is the creator of everything visible and invisible. Is he then the ruler of the tombs where you wish to go, or is he the liberator of prisoners?

§62. "Where then the unfailing joy of which you speak might be, or what the coming might be, I know not. Or what the angels are of whom you speak, or what are your hope and our hopelessness. Come then, kindly explain all this to me. But I shall not absolve you from the opprobrium of the gods whom you have insulted. For you yourself said 'they are men,' and you brought them down to mortal nature. And the terrible insult which you made to the gods [applies] also to us kings, since you said that the kings who worship them are insane."

Greek Vg: I shall certainly not forgive you the blasphemies spoken by you against the gods, because you called the immortals corruptible and lifeless."

Arabic Va: Where is that unfailing joy which you desire, where is your Christ, and his coming? Where are the angels about whom you inform me, and what is your hope? Explain and interpret for me your saying that I am deprived of hope. We shall not forgive you your insults regarding the gods and myself, because you dishonoured the gods who are immortal. You dishonoured our kingdom, and you said that we have no intelligence because 'you worship the gods.' Explain your words to us."

§63. Gregory said: "Christ is the Son of God, through whom he made this world and fashioned it.* He is the judge of the living and the dead,* Lord and recompenser of bounty to the bountiful and of evil to the evil alike.*

* Jn. 1.3. * II Tim. 4.1. * Mt. 16.27, Rom. 2.6, II Tim.4.8.

Greek Vg: 10. Gregory said: "Whom then did I insult, O king? You call your gods those who have been deprived of all sensation, for your hope is in carved [images]. We confess Christ to be true God from true God, who, by taking flesh for our sake, suffering on the Cross, dying and rising, bestowed immortality on us. He will come to recompense each one according to his deeds: for the just, delight in paradise and the joy of his own kingdom; but eternal punishment for sinners and the profane, those who do not wish to recognise the Creator of all things."

Arabic Va: Gregory said: "If you wish to pay attention, listen to my words. The Lord Jesus Christ is truly the Son of God, creator of everything, regulator of the living and the dead. He remunerates with blessings those who do good, but those who do evil, with evil.

§64. "He, as you indeed said, is truly the ruler and guardian of tombs. For he died willingly and entered a tomb, which guards the bones of all men; and by his own resurrection he demonstrated and revealed the resurrection of the dead. He himself is resurrection and life,* the raiser and renewer of all flesh,* and[33] he keeps the souls of men alive.* He himself is life so that he may renew the souls of men, having been clothed in the same flesh.[34]† Then he will reveal each one's recompense for each one's labours.* He will bring forth the bound from the house of bondage to idolatry, those who are bound in sin; and he will break the chains of lawlessness [for] those who are like you.[35] But from such bonds as you threaten,[36] he is accustomed to reveal the grace of mercy and to save those who hope in him.

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33. He ... and: *Ag, om.*

34. Having ... flesh: *Ag*, [men] who have been clothed in his body.

35. To idolatry ... you: *Ag*, and he will punish those those in idolatry, like you bound in sin and impieties.

36. From ... threaten: *Ag*, in such bonds.

* Jn. 11.25. * I Cor. 15.52, Phil. 3.21. * Acts 17.25. * Col. 3.24.

† Clothed in the same flesh. For the Incarnation as Christ "clothing" himself in flesh see the *Teaching*, §368-369, and Thomson, *Teaching II*, Introduction.

Arabic Va: He is king and lord of the tombs. He died of his own will, and arose. By his death he shattered the bonds of death, and revealed the resurrection of the dead. He is the guardian of the bones of the saints, for he himself is resurrection and life.

§65. "The unfailing joy is when he will make immortal [and raise] to[37] his own divinity his beloved and called and invited[38] and those who kept the commandments;[39] whereas the sinners[40] he will make immortal in their eternal torments. And the coming is when he will come to do all this. The angels† are those who are the servants of his majesty and divinity and of the eternal kingdom.[41]

† Angels. The theme of men becoming angels is very common in the *Teaching*, see references in Thomson, *Teaching II*, §414, n. 223.

Arabic Va: He raises and renews the bodies of mankind, while the angels are those who continually and unceasingly praise him.

§66. "Our hope expects and awaits this. And your hopelessness is[42] because you do not recognise your Creator who makes this demand on you, nor have you sought the Lord your Creator, nor have you recognised him.[43] Truly you have become like horses or mules, since there is no wisdom in them. You have been found to be less intelligent than an ox or donkey since you have not recognised your

37. To: *Ag*, through.

38. And called and invited: *Ag*, *om*.

39. *Ag*: + in the kingdom of heaven.

40. *Ag*: + and his enemies likewise.

41. And ... kingdom: *Ag*, *om*.

42. *Ag*: + without a share [in this].

43. Nor have you recognised...him: *Ag*, *om*.

Fashioner,[44]† who in his own time will fit your cheeks into bridles and bits, you who will not be able[45] to approach him.*

* Ps. 31.9, Is. 1.3.

† Fashioner: *hastič';* see above, note to §60.

Arabic Va: Behold this is our hope. But your hope is false, because you do not recognise your creator, but have become the slave of Satan. You worship creation instead of the creator. Truly you resemble a horse or mule, because they have no understanding. And you are even worse than donkeys or cattle. You have neither sense nor understanding, because you have not acknowledged your creator, God. Therefore the time of his coming is frightful. With bit and bridle he will restrain the cheeks of all those who do not recognise him.

§67. "As for your saying 'you have insulted the gods,' what could this insult mean to those who never have any sensation of anyone's honouring them? For they have been fashioned by the hands of men, and have been made and created by deranged and dreaming thoughts. [Men] were enticed by the sculpted images of earlier men to fabricate them,[46] in which indeed they have gone astray, deprived of the Creator's light. But those who worship the same are truly like animals. 'They have a mouth and speak not; they have eyes and see not; they have ears and hear not; they have noses and smell not; they have hands and feel not; they have feet and move not. There is no breath in their mouths. Those who made them will become like them, and also those who hope in them'."*

* Ps. 115.5-8, 134.16-18.

Arabic Va: Now as for saying that I have dishonoured your gods, yet they are not aware of either honour or insult, because they are the work of hands. Therefore their fashioners resemble them, like animals that have no consciousness. Like your gods, 'they have a mouth and do not speak; they have eyes and do not see; they have ears and hear not; they

44. Fashioner: *Ag*, Lord.

45. Will not be able: *Ag*, have not learned.

46. [Men] were ... them: *Ag*, a statue is a lifeless image of former men who were deceived to fabricate them.

have noses and do not smell; they have hands and feel not; they have feet and move not.' Therefore the prophet says: 'Those who made them will become like them, and all those who hoped in them'."

§68. The king began to speak and said: "How often have I given you warning and a command not to repeat in my presence these compositions of fabulous stories, which you have pieced together and learned up and which it is unfitting for you to tell? So I have spared you as a meritorious servant in order that you might come to the right path and worship the gods, whose honour you have negated by calling someone else creator. Those who are truly creator you insult, calling lifeless and mute the great Anahit, through whom our land of Armenia lives and is provided with prosperity, and with her the great and noble Aramazd, the creator of heaven and earth, and with him the other gods. And you have gone so far as to insult us as well, daring to call us horses and mules. Because you have multiplied all these insults, even presuming to call us animals, now I shall cast you into torments, and I shall place a bit in your jaws so that you may know that for your futile words, which you repeated before me, you immediately received your deserts.[47] This," he said, "is a great courtesy on my part[48] that I spoke with you and honoured you, yet you replied to me as an equal."

Greek Vg: 11. The king said: "[For] as many insults as you have heaped on the gods you have to experience the harshness of tortures, because you reject and call dead the great Zeus and Artemis, providers of blessings for all Armenia."

Arabic Va: When the king heard his speech, he was angry and said to him: "Many times I have commanded you not to dare to say in my presence that these are the work of men's hands! I have spared you, hoping that in that way you would return [to the true path] and worship the gods whose love I have enjoined on you. Behold, you say that the all-seeing creator is a different god, and you defame the [true] gods who arrange everything. Now the mother of the gods is the immortal Artemis,

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47. You ... deserts: *Ag*, for that reason it was done to you.

48. Great ... part: *Ag*, great thing for you.

who gives life to the world, and Zeus the creator of heaven and earth, and the company of the gods. Yet you have called them altogether inanimate and without understanding. Us also you have dishonoured, likening us to animals. I shall now hand you over to torment. I shall place a bridle on your cheek, so that you may know that the words you spoke will redound upon you. You should have reckoned it an honour for you that I spoke with you as an equal to me; but you had the effrontery that in speaking with me all those words in response, you supposed that I was your equal."

§69. He had his hands bound behind him, and a muzzle put in his mouth; and he had a block of salt hung on his back and a noose placed round his chest, and cords put round and tightened on him. He had him tied and raised up by machines to the highest part of the palace wall.[49] And he remained thus, tightly bound,[50] for seven days.† After the seventh day he commanded and they released him from the atrocious and cruel bonds,[51] and they brought him before [the king].[52]

† For parallels to the various tortures inflicted on Gregory see the notes to Thomson, *Agathangelos I.* There is a very long list of such tortures in *Vkayk' Arewelic'*, 29-31. Gregory's tortures are frequently mentioned in later sources as numbering 12, which would correspond with: §69 he is hung up with a block of salt on his back; §74 he is hung upside down over burning dung, and flogged for seven days; §102 blocks of wood are tightened around his legs; §103 iron nails are driven through his feet; §106 a mixture of salt, borax, and viegar is poured into his nose; §107 cinders are placed in a bag around his head; §109 water is poured into his bottom; §111 his flanks are scraped; §112 he is rolled on iron thistles; §115 iron is placed on his knees and hammered; §119 molten lead is poured over him.

Greek Vg: 12. Then he ordered the holy one to be hung up in the air, and his flesh to be scraped, and salt and vinegar to be rubbed in. And the wicked one ordered him to remain in such terrible punishment for three days.

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49. Wall: *Ag*, roof [*dōma*].

50. Tightly bound: *Ag*, hanging.

51. Bonds: *Ag*, torments.

52. *Ag*: the king; *Aa*, him.

Arabic Va : The king was very angry, and ordered that his hands be bound behind him, and a bit be placed in his mouth. On his neck they placed a load of salt; they bound his chest with a belt and with ropes, and raised him up by a machine [manjanīq, i.e. catapult]. In this state he remained hanging for seven days. After that the king gave an order that they should free him from those torments. Then he had brought before him many instruments of torture.

Syriac Vs: 53. Then the wicked one gave orders, and they brought salt and piled it on him, about three loads, so he was girt around with it. And they hung him upside down.

§70. He began to question him: "How could you bear it, resist, endure and last[53] until today? Did you perceive that truly like a donkey or mule[54] you took on and carried such a great load[55] and were stationary under your burden? Because you dared to insult the gods by saying they are immobile, therefore they have repaid you with such punishment. So now, if you will not agree to worship the gods,[56] and if you persist in such insults to the deities,[57] then still worse and crueller sufferings will be inflicted upon you."

Arabic Va: And he said to him: "How were you able to endure the course of these days of cruel torments? Now indeed you have seen by experience that you bore the load like a horse or mule, yet you stood and did not move. All this was for blaspheming the gods and your saying that they have no consciousness. Behold, this is their reward to you. But I tell you, that if you do not accept and believe in the gods and cease from insulting them again, more torments than these will befall you."

§71. Gregory replied: "Concerning the gods[58] that you mention, whom you call deities, they truly are fabricated,† because they have

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53. Bear … last: *Ag*, endure.

54. Or mule: *Ag*, *om*.

55. *Ag*: + on your back.

56. The gods: *Ag*, them.

57. To the deities: *Ag*, *om*.

58. Gods: *Ag*, demons.

been fashioned by men and made as images by the hands of an artisan. Some are of wood and some of stone, some are of bronze and some of silver, and some of gold. They have never spoken or thought or made any decision—neither about you nor about me. And you yourself bear me witness that they have never spoken to you about my being tormented by you. Have indeed mute stones ever comprehended the sufferings of men?

† Gods, deities: *dik', astuack'*. The latter are called "fabricated, *hastuack'*." It is unclear whether Gregory is making a pun or proposing an etymology. The usual etymology in medieval Armenian texts for *astuac* is *ast-ac*, "[God] brought here," i.e "brought into existence;" see references in Thomson, "Historical Compilation," 141, n. 9.

Arabic Va: Saint Gregory said: "The gods about whom you speak are the work of human hands, idols which do not possess sensation or intelligence. They have been fashioned from wood, stone, bronze, silver and gold. They have never spoken and are mute; nor are they sensible of the honour or insults paid to them. They have not spoken to you who torture me in order to work their vengeance ... they do not have consciousness ... or breath or mind.

§72. As for your hanging salt on me in order that I may be tormented by bonds, I hope in my Lord,[59] whose creation are heaven and earth, and in the co-worker Son,† and in the Spirit the intercessor,[60]* that they may season[61]† my insipidity with the real salt of the truth that passes not away.* And [I hope] that he may give[62] me the very easy and light yoke* of the gift of humility, which passes not away for ever and ever. He raises the humble* by his benevolence to that inexhaustible and unending recompense, to the infinite, timeless, and eternal day of election in the seventh age to

59. *Ag*: + Jesus Christ.

60. And in ... intercessor: *Ag*, *om.*

61. That they may season: *Ag*, because he seasoned.

62. May give: *Ag*, gave.

come,[63]† when he will give rest to all his labourers and reward them in his majesty.[64]

* Rom. 8.26, 34. * Mt. 5.13. * Mt. 11.30. * Lk. 1.5.

† Co-worker, *hamagorc*, as in the *Teaching*, §260.

† That they may season. The manuscripts differ between a singular and plural verb. Originally the text referred only to the Lord, as in *Ag*, but a later revision changed this to the Trinity, hence the confusion.

† Seventh age. Note the importance of the theme of the seven ages, discussed in the Introduction to Thomson, *Teaching II*. *Ag* specifically introduces a reference to Dan. 9.25, the "seven weeks of years." Gregory's words here have been taken as a reference to the beginning of the seventh millenium of the Byzantine era, which began in 5508, so that the date of 491 is intended. This has a direct connection with the date of the discovery of Gregory's relics and their transfer to T'ordan, which occurred in 491/2; cf. also note to §891. For this interpretation of the reference to the seventh age see Ananean, "La data," 321, with previous literature. For the theme of seven ages see also the commentary to §754.

Arabic Va: As for loading salt on me, I have refuge in God the creator of heaven and earth, in his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, and the intercessor [brqlyṭ, i.e. paraclete], the holy Spirit. He will give me his light and humble yoke, which resembles gifts that are eternal. He will raise up the humble on the day of retribution at the end of time. Then with unending joy he will give rest to the weary, as he promised us [Mt. 11.28].

Syriac Vs: 55. The heroic Gregory said to him: "My God is in heaven; and everything he wishes he performs. He has power over life and death, and he is able to save me from your hands."

§73. "As for those who worship stone idols, the prophet says: 'They will go down like stones in many waters.'* And of those who worship wooden sculptures he speaks thus:[65] 'Fire burned over all the wood of the field, and it will consume sinners, and will not be extinguished.'* As for those who worship [images] of silver and gold,

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63. In ... come: *Ag*, when the seven weeks of years will be completed.

64. To all ... majesty: *Ag*, his labourers in his beneficent goodness.

65. He speaks thus: *Ag*, they will fall, as he said about them.

he speaks thus: 'Their silver and their gold will not be able to save them on the day of the Lord's anger.'* He is able to impose on them heavy loads,* and also[66] on all resisters and sinners who may be impious like you."

* Ezra 19.11=Neh. 9.11, Ex. 15.5. * Jer. 7.20. * Ez. 7.19, Zeph. 1.18. * Lk. 11.46.

Arabic Va: As for those who worship idols, he will subject them to eternal torments, as the prophet said about them: 'They will go down like stones in great depth.' He also said about the worshippers of wood: 'Fire burned all the forest of wood with the company of sinners.' Furthermore he said about the worshippers of silver and gold: 'Their silver and their gold [will not be able to save them on the day] of the Lord's anger,' he who is able ... all the impious, that is, those who oppose him like you."

§74. After this he ordered him to be hung upside-down from one foot, and that while he was upside-down they should burn[67] dung beneath him and he should be severely flogged with green rods.† Ten men tormented him according to the king's command. And he remained suspended thus for seven days.

† Hanging up-side down. See Boyce, *Letter of Tansar*, 48, for this torture in Iran. Being flogged when hanging upside down, and hanging by one foot are mentioned in the *Acts of Sharbil*, and the *Martyrdom of Shmona and Guria*, §35.

Greek Vg: 14. When the king saw the endurance and eagerness of saint Gregory, enraged he ordered the holy one to be hung from one foot, and burning dung to be made to smoke under his nostrils, so that by breathing it in he might perish from the stink.

Arabic Va: The king was filled with anger, and ordered him to be hung upside-down by one foot, that by burning dung beneath him they should make him breathe smoke, and they should beat him with rods. They

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66. On them, and also: *Ag, om.*

67. *Ag*: + evil-smelling.

carried this out, and ten young men continuously struck him as the king had commanded. He remained hanging in this manner for seven days.

Syriac Vs: And dung was burned beneath him. He was like this for seven days. Then he gave orders and they brought him down. 54. Trdat spoke and said to him: "Where is your God who made heaven and earth? Will he save you from this torment?"

[Gregory's Prayer]

§75. While he was hanging he began to speak[68] from the gibbet as follows:† "I thank you, Lord, for making my unworthiness worthy of your gift. For from the beginning you have loved the creatures of your hands, and you have given [them] the joy of untroubled repose in the garden of delight.[69] You [made us] immortal and free of pain, and prepared for us the joyful destiny of unending life,[70] if we kept the commandment that you placed on us not to eat from the tree. For you said: 'Do not eat from that tree from which I have commanded you not to eat.'* Not that the tree, called of life, could give life without the word of command of your benevolent will—and your will and word and benevolence are the only-begotten Son, the offspring of your divinity, and the holy Spirit who proceeds from you and fills all the world,† who is with you and with your only-begotten in your being.[71]

* Gen. 2.17, 3.11.

† Extensive prayers uttered in public are traditional in hagiographical texts; see Delehaye, *Passions*, 195-197. Prayers of thanks with liturgical overtones are especially common; e.g. Łazar, 90-91, 101, Ełišē, 123, 149, *Vkayk' Arewelic'*, 207, or Gaianē below in *Aa*, §207. For parallels in the Armenian

68. Speak: *Ag*, pray.

69. In ... delight: *Ag*, of paradise for our enjoyment.

70. Unending life: *Ag*, life and joy, as you prepared in the beginning.

71. From which ... being: *Ag*, of the knowledge of good and evil. Not that the tree was called of life and death, but you wished thus to demonstrate your will and that of your only-begotten Son, for he is the offspring of your divinity, and the will of your holy Spirit, for he proceeds from you and fills the ends of the earth.

liturgy with Gregory's prayers see Gatrč'ean, *Pataragamac'oyc'*, 90, 108, and Hac'uni, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc' Alōt'amatoyc'in*, 154.

† The relationship of the three Persons of the Trinity is an important theme in the *Teaching*, e.g. §259, 362.

Greek Vg [§75-80]: 15. The holy one prayed to God, saying: "I am grateful to you the heavenly God, that I have become worthy to receive bonds and various tortures for the faith of Christ. You have fashioned man, you have loved him as the works of your hands, and allowed him to inhabit paradise and delight therein. But the Devil's counsel expelled [us] from the immortal delight, into which the Son and Word of God and our God has again restored us. He bore flesh for our sake, in order that he might bring the fall of our flesh to the divine, by achieving incorruptibility. He accepted suffering so that he might bring us to impassibility and unite us to his own divinity; being light from light and life from life, born from the immaculate Virgin, who was and will be and remains for ages of ages with the Father and the holy Spirit."

Arabic Va: While he was suspended he prayed, saying: "I thank you, Lord. I was not worthy, yet you made me worthy of this gift, because from the beginning you have loved the work of your hands; you gave him paradise and delight without pain or death. If only we had kept your commandment which you ordered us: 'Do not eat from the tree from which I ordered you not to eat,' the tree called 'of life' would not have been able to give us life without your word and ... of your only-begotten Son.

§76. "If we had observed your commandment, Lord, and had kept the commands which you imposed for the sake of testing our virtue, you would have granted us life without pain, free of labour, fault, care, sadness or old age. We sowed[72] and multiplied, as you commanded us to live in bodily fashion,* being clothed in shameless glory for a garment in your garden in which you had placed us. Thereafter, as after the holy marriage and[73] birth of a son to Enoch you raised him to the ranks of the angels, to the destiny of joy and

72. Sowed: *Ag*, "increased."

73. Marriage and: *Ag*, *om*.

immortality,* so, if we had observed the commandment, you would have shown us the example of Enoch. For you would have transferred us from the delightful garden and from our earthly condition to immortality, like Enoch[74] to the ranks of the angels. And straightway you would have brought in your kingdom, which you had prepared previously for your glory before the world existed.* For 'what eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has fallen into the heart of man, you have prepared for those who earlier loved you,'[75]* which you will give, Lord, to those who have loved the day when the coming of your only-begotten will be revealed.[76]†

* Gen. 1.28. * Gen. 5.22, 24. * Jn. 17.5. * I Cor. 2.9.

† There are further parallels to the ideas in this long prayer in the *Teaching*; see the General Index in Thomson, *Teaching II*. More general patristic themes are noted in the commentary to Thomson, *Agathangelos I*.

Arabic Va: If we had kept that commandment which you had given us, you would have granted [us] life without labour, pain, grief and old age. When the human race multiplied, you showed us the path to resurrection, like Enoch whom you raised up from here to paradise. If we too had kept the commandment, we also would have been worthy of life and you would have brought us to unending life like Noah [sic! Enoch is intended], and we would have been granted by you the kingdom to come like them. 'What eye has not seen, nor has fallen into the heart of man, you have prepared for those who previously loved you.'

§77. "However, when the enemy saw us being honoured by the benevolence of your will, he was jealous of the honour of the crown of our boasting, of the honour given by you in that you said: 'I have made man in the likeness of the image of our form,[77] and I have set him up as lord of all.'* At the jealousy of the slandering enemy† the charms of debauchery[78]* entered the world and threw men from life

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74. Like Enoch: *Ag*, *om*.

75. You ... you: *Ag*, *om*.

76. The day ... revealed: *Ag*, your holy and name and the coming of your Only-begotten.

77. The image of our form: *Ag*, your image.

78. *Ag*: + and death.

and repose,* which you in your benevolence had granted mankind who lost them.[79]

* Gen. 1.27, Ps. 8.7. * II Macc. 6.21. * Wis. 2.24.

† On the jealousy of the Devil cf. the *Teaching*, §278, where a variety of epithets is applied to him.

Arabic Va: But when the Enemy saw your great compassion, he was jealous of us for that grace which you had given us, because you said: 'In the likeness of my image and form I have made man, and established him as lord of all.' So the seductive enemy tricked man, and deprived him of the life and repose that you had bestowed on him ...

§78. But since your divinity had compassion on the weakness of our humanity, in your perpetual mercy you did not abandon us because of your benevolence. In your long-suffering indulgence you sent to earth the holy prophets,† your beloved ones,[80] **who became luminaries on earth in the midst of the benighted heathen races.* But by these irrational and lawless men they were hated and persecuted; they revealed the mysteries of your illumination, and they preached your will and the coming of your Son to the world, who was to come and remove the burden of the punishment for the sins of erring**[81] **mankind.**

* II Pet. 1.19.

† The role of the prophets is emphasised in the *Teaching*; see the references to specific aspects in Thomson, *Teaching II*, 262-3.

Arabic Va: However, in your great mercy you sent to the world your holy prophets, who became the stars of the world. But evil men hated and persecuted them when they revealed your intentions, preached your will, your desire, and the coming of your only Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who came to the world and endured the sins of mankind [lit. creation].

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79. Who lost them: *Ag, om.*

80. Your beloved ones: *Ag, om.*

81. Erring: *Ag, om.*

§79. "Because they preached this in the world they were put to death with torture, torments and all sorts of trials and tribulations. They led a bitter life in the world for the sake of preaching you to their tormentors. But their tormentors and enemies[82] weakened and fell. Therefore, my heart will not fear at this struggle which has come upon me; and in the combat which faces me I have placed my hope in you.* At the end of time you have revealed the mystery of your will, of which you previously informed the first races through your holy prophets,* by means of your beloved Son who was sent by you to come and be born of the holy virgin. For as through the first virgin, Eve, death entered the world, so through this[83] virgin life will enter the world. As through Eve's giving birth, Cain's curse and sweat and toil and agitation and troubles entered the world; so through the birth of your Son from the virgin, rest and life and blessings will enter the world.†

* Ps. 26.2-4. * Heb. 1.1-2.

† The comparison between Eve and the Virgin Mary [cf. I Cor. 15.21] is an important patristic theme; see Lampe, s.v. *parthenos*. It is not made in the *Teaching*, which emphasises the birth of Christ as the second birth of the Son of God, §391-392, and Old Testament parallels, §432, such as thurible.

Arabic Va: They preached and died at the hands of impious men. If the armies attack me, my heart does not fear; and if they stand up to kill me, I am not frightened of them. For I take refuge in you, who in our days revealed your will. Previously you had revealed through the mouth of the holy prophets concerning your only-begotten Son, who is prior to time. He is the Word of God, who from the Virgin Mary was made flesh in the last times. Just as through Eve death entered the world, so through the holy Virgin life came into the world. And just as through the first Cain to whom Eve gave birth a curse entered the world, and greed, torments and blows; so also through the grace of your only-begotten Son born from the Virgin, life and blessing entered the world.

§80. "You sent your only-begotten Son into the world, light from light, life from life, who came to put on the likeness of our flesh from

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82. And enemies: *Ag*, *om*.

83. *Ag*: + immaculate.

the virgin,* in order by his own likeness to join us to his divinity. He became like us; he was born from the virgin in the flesh and became man and was incarnate like us, yet he is and remains in the glory of his divinity,[84]† and he did not undergo any change from his divinity.[85] He is the same, who was and is and exists and remains forever with the Father and with the holy Spirit. But because he loved mankind, therefore he became like us, so that he might bring us to the abundance of the grace of his divinity.† That is the will of his begetter, and he fulfilled his will. He glorified the saints by his own endurance, in bearing himself the indignity of affliction, death and torments,[86] through his death and burial. Because men loved to worship images in human shape, skilfully carved from wood, he himself became the[87] image of men,† that he might subject to the image of his own divinity the image-makers and image-lovers and image-worshippers.

* Phil. 2.7

† Is and remains in the glory. Cf. the *Teaching*, §381.

† The abundance of the grace. The printed Armenian text reads *šnawrhawk'*, lit. "[to abundance] through the grace [of his divinity]," but I follow the reading of α and of *Ag*.

† Became the image of men. This is not a usual expression for the Incarnation, but is found in Proclus, *Oratio*, VI 11: "Christ, being *summorphos* with mankind took on the image of humanity." See the next paragraph for the importance of "image" in later theological controversies concerning the veneration of images.

Arabic Va: [He is] light from light and life from life, who came and put on our body so that he might join us to his divinity. He was born as he willed, yet he remained in the glory of his divinity just as he was. His divinity, just as it was, is and remains for ever and ever with the Father and the holy Spirit. He so loved mankind that he became man without sin, so that he might make us worthy of divine joy. He fashioned us like

84. The glory of his divinity: *Ag*, his own glory and his natural divinity.

85. *Ag*: + through the incarnation.

86. Death and torments: *Ag*, *om.*

87. *Ag*: + true.

his image, so that he might gather in to his divinity all those who fashion idols and worship them in order to derive help from them.

§81. "Because men were accustomed to worship lifeless and dead images, he himself became a dead image on the cross.† He died and breathed his last, in order that by this [image] familiar to them he might quickly[88] subject them to his own image. He made the cross appear as a hook,† and he made his body food for the universe,† that thereby he might catch† [men] for the royal table of the eternal kingdom of[89] his divinity.†

† Dead image. This passage is quoted in the *Apology for Images* attributed to Vrt'anēs; see Der Nersessian, "Une apologie," esp. n. 15, where she notes that the patriarch Nicephorus also quoted this prayer. For Nicephoros's knowledge of the Greek Agathangelos see the introduction, 94.

† Hook, *kart'*. This is an important theme in patristic theology [cf. Mt. 4.19, Mk. 1.17], see Lampe, s.v. *agkistron*. There are Armenian parallels in the *Letter of Leo* in Łewond, 83, Grigor Narekac'i, Prayer 93 [*Matean Ołbergut'ean*, 622, line 113], Nersēs Šnorhali, *Yisus Ordi*, line 1119, Grigor Magistros, Letter 67 [*T'łt'er*, 155]. Cf. the long passage on God hunting fish in Ełišē, *Homily on the Passion*, 335-338.

† Body, food: a reference to the Eucharist, elaborated in §84.

† Catch, *orsal*. This is a common metaphor, especially by means of a hook [just above]; e.g. Ełišē, *History of Vardan*, 64, and *Vkayk' Arewelic'*, 127.

† Table: *sełan*, or "altar," continuing the eucharistic metaphor. Cf. the tables/altars in Gregory's vision which represented the expansion of the church's liturgical role [§739, explained in §752].

Arabic Va: For men had become presumptuous, and abandoning him began to worship unconscious idols. But he took on our image and raised it up on the cross, so that he might subject [men] to his own image. He made his cross a hook and his body bait for the whole world, so that thereby he might catch us all for his royal table, whose divinity is everlasting.

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88. Quickly: *Ag*, *om.*

89. The eternal kingdom of: *Ag*, *om.*

§82. "Instead of carved pieces of wood he set up his cross in the middle of the universe,† that those who were accustomed to worshipping wood, by this familiar and accustomed [object] might be persuaded to worship the cross of wood[90] and the image and human form upon it.† For on the cross he spoke thus, as the prophet indicated on behalf of the Lord:[91] 'I became like a deaf man who does not hear; and like a mute, for he does not open his mouth.'* You, Lord, previously said through the prophet, before the time had come for your Son Jesus to endure all these sufferings: 'I shall make you mute[92] and shall bind your tongue in your palate.* And you will become like a man in whose mouth there are no words of reproof.'*

* Ps. 37.14. * Ez. 3.26. * Ps. 37.15.

† The theme of the Cross is central to the *Teaching*; see Thomson, *Teaching II*, §48-490, and the references to patristic literature *ibid*, n. 312.

† Human [form]: *mardadēm*, lit. "with a human face." Although not listed in the *NBHL*, it is used again in §85 of impure idols.

Arabic Va: Instead of carved idols of wood he set up his cross in the middle of the world, so that thereby he might persuade the worshippers of this carved wood to worship his cross. Concerning this the prophet spoke and said: 'I shall become like a deaf man who does not hear, and like a dumb man for he does not open his mouth.' He also said: 'I shall bind your tongue in your palate, and you will become like a man in whose mouth there are no words of reproach.'

§83. "Because men loved the dumb idols of the images of the vain gods,[93] therefore the Son of God too became in the flesh an image of man, in the likeness of human images,[94] mounting the elevated cross as if climbing a high summit;† and he showed his speechless

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90. The cross of wood: *Ag*, his cross.

91. On behalf of the Lord: *Ag*, *om.*

92. *Ag*: + in such endurance.

93. Of the images of the vain gods: *Ag*, *om.*

94. In the likeness of human images: *Ag*, *om.*

lifelessness to creation.[95] So the world saw him on a high place, and rejoiced and worshipped and submitted.

† The elevation of the Cross is emphasised in the *Teaching*, e.g. §628-629; cf. Jn. 3.14, 8.28, 12.32. For patristic parallels see Lampe, s.v. *hypsoō*.

Arabic Va: Because men loved dumb idols and the images of vain gods, therefore your only-begotten Son also became like a man; he mounted the cross and appeared to the world. Hence on seeing him, all the elect saints rejoiced, were joyful and submitted in worship.

§84. "Because men were accustomed to rejoice in the temples of the idols with sacrifices which they offered to the speechless [idols], therefore you summoned the world to the sacrifice of your Son and said: 'My fatted [calf] is sacrificed; my meal is prepared.'* You increased their joy by the crucifixion of your Son; and you satisfied the whole world from the living flesh, which is sufficient food and life for all your worshippers throughout the whole world. But those who did not wish to come to the invitation to the marriage of the spiritual table,[96]† these you have prepared for eternal torments, for unending destruction by irrevocable judgments; and their cities you have established in the midst of the fire of the prepared torments of your anger.[97]

* Mt. 22.4, Lk. 15.23.

† Spiritual table: *sełan*, for which see §81. The theme of the invitation to the wedding banquet is elaborated in the *Teaching*, e.g. §508, 510, 672.

Arabic Va: Because men rejoiced in the temples of idols, and offered sacrifices to the useless, disgusting and lifeless gods, therefore you invited the world to the sacrifice of your only-begotten Son, saying: 'I have sacrificed my fatten [calf], and have prepared my meal [lit. invitation],' and joy was increased by the crucifixion of your Son. You sated the world with his living flesh. But those who did not wish to attend the spiritual marriage with your only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, our

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95. His ... creation: *Ag*, himself speechless through lifelessness to his own creatures as being alive by nature.

96. Table, *sełan*, or "altar:" *Ag, agapē.*

97. And ... anger: *Ag, om.*

God, for them you prepared eternal torments, and burned their cities with inextinguishable fire.

§85. "Because men ate and drank the blood of idolatrous animal sacrifices,[98] therefore he shed his own blood on the wood, so that the wood [might replace] the wooden sculptures,† and he himself the impure images in human form,[99]† and his blood the blood of joyful songs,[100]† whereby [might be effected] the renewal of the flesh for the blossoming of mankind.* He came and redeemed us* through his blood from bondage to servitude by his divinity,[101] and freed us from slavery to the wickedness of sin.* We are the price of your Son's blood,* who have been saved and freed by his blood and flesh. For we are not masters of ourselves if we follow the will of our own ease or the will of all mortal men, even though they might be our bodily masters. Yet we must honour them[102] as is commanded by you,* but not exchange you[103] for fear of mortal men. For they are only able to torture the body, whereas your only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, can cast everyone into eternal torments, with soul and body into the inextinguishable fire and the undying worm.*

* Phil. 3.21. * Gal. 3.13. * Rom. 8.2. * I Cor. 6.19, 7.23. * Eph. 6.5, Col. 3.22, I Pet. 2.18. * Mt. 10.28, Mk. 9.43.

† The contrast of the wood of the Cross with the wood of idols is common in patristic literature; see Lampe, s.v. *xylon*.

† Images in human form, *mardadēm*. See §82 above. *Ag* changes this, making "in human form, *anthrōpomorphos*," refer to Christ not the images; but no variant is attested in *Aa* for such an interpretation.

† Joyful songs, *nuagac'n uraxut'ean*, i.e. of feasting. The contrast of Christ's blood with the blood of sacrifices has patristic parallels; see Lampe, s.v. *haima*.

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98. Idolatrous animal sacrifices: *Ag*, sacrifices in the worship of demons.

99. Himself in human form [replace] the impure image: *Ag tr.* See note.

100. Joyful songs: *Ag*, sacrifice.

101. From ... divinity: *Ag*, for the happy service of his divinity.

102. *Ag*: + bodily.

103. You: *Ag*, your lordship.

Arabic Va: Because it was their custom to drink the blood of their sacrificed [animals], therefore he also shed his blood on the cross, and thereby saved us from servitude to sin, and restored us to his divinity. We are not masters of our own selves who walk according to our bodily desires or according to the will of mortal men. Yet we must honour ruling men, but not as gods, nor like your divine honour, not even for the reason that they frighten or threaten us, because they only torture the body. Whereas your only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, is able to destroy soul and body together in hell.

§86. "But, Lord, give me power to endure the affliction and pain of my torment, and have mercy on me as on the thief who shared with you the sufferings of your cross.* Bestow on me the compassion of your benevolent grace whereby the whole world lives, the just and the sinners, through your sweet indulgence. 'For you make your sun to rise over the evil and the good, and you bring rain on the just and on sinners.'* You restrain your anger[104]† and demonstrate your mercy to all men alike.

* Lk. 23.43. * Mt. 5.45.

† Anger: *Ag* has rendered this as "goodness, *agathotēs*." Although no variant in the Armenian is attested, presumably the translator read *barut'iwn* for *barkut'iwn*.

Greek Vg: 13. Gregory eagerly accepted the punishment. He prayed, beseeching that the weakness of [his] body might be strengthened by the divine power; and he spoke out employing the following prayer: "True God, who through the first-born God the Word has framed and ordered all things and brought them into existence from non-existence,

Arabic Va: But, Lord, I beg you to give me strength and endurance to bear every tribulation. Have mercy on me, as you had mercy on the thief who was crucified with your Son. We glorify you because your mercy is generous, thanks to which we all live, whether the just or the sinners, through the extensive grace of your mercy. 'For you make the sun to rise on the good and the wicked, and you bring rain down on the innocent

104. Anger: *Ag*, goodness.

and the sinners.' You restrain your anger, and have mercy on all your creatures.

§87. "Give me, Lord, grace to endure these cruel torments with which they afflict me, so that I may become worthy to keep the tradition* of this faith of light which you gave me, to know you and do your will. May those who hoped in you not be ashamed,* those who once boasted in your only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was sent by you. You sent him to death for our sins, that he might take our sins[105] upon himself, and be punished for our transgressions, and take [our] sins upon himself,† and therewith bring upon himself the punishment for our transgressions[106] by suffering on the cross, so that he might fulfil and grant the grace of rewards to those who believe in him.

* II Tim. 1.2. * Rom. 9.33, I Pet. 2.6.

† And take [our] sins upon himself. The repetition is omitted in some manuscripts; the variant "burden" for the first "sins" in *Ag* is not attested in Armenian.

Greek Vg: give me grace to endure what is afflicted upon me by the impious tyrant; so that when they see me easily bearing the ill usage of these cruel tortures, they may come to the knowledge of you the Father and of your only-begotten Son and of the holy Spirit."

Arabic Va: Give me grace, Lord, to bear this cruel pain in which I find myself, so that I may become worthy to preserve the tradition of the pure baptism of your Son. This is the luminous faith which you granted me, and I fulfil your will, so that those who hope in you and those who boast in your only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, may not be ashamed.

§88. "So, benevolent Lord who said: 'I am with you every day until the end of the world,'* do not deprive us of your hand,* but strengthen us in your will, so that we may be able to endure this struggle for the sake of your great name, in order that the boast of

105. Sins: *Ag*, burden.

106. Punishment for our transgressions: *Ag*, curse of our condemnation.

the faith[107] of us your servants in the majesty of your divinity may be revealed; and that this too may be revealed, that none of your enemies can vanquish those who hope in you, who are enemies to themselves.

* Mt. 28.20. * Eccl. 7.18.

Arabic Va: So, our God and Lord who said: 'I am with you every day until the end of the world,' do not abandon me but strengthen [me] to do your will and be obedient, so that I may persevere in this struggle for your great name, so your servant may boast in the faith he has for you, but his enemies may see the strength of those who trust in you.

§89. "But, Lord, join us to the number of your just because of your benevolence. You did not pointlessly[108] abandon us in the sins of our fathers and the ash-worship[109] of our ancestors and the impieties of our forefathers.† You permitted us to know the nature of the creation of[110] your divinity, lest we be lost in the vanity of paganism. And you had mercy on your creatures, so that your anger would not overwhelm us, and your indignation destroy us, and your wrath[111] be aroused against your creatures.

† Ash-worship, *moxrapaštut'iwn*, is a standard term in Armenian for the fires of Iranian temples; cf. Ełišē, *History of Vardan*, 53, and the "house of ashes, *tun moxranoc'in*," for a fire-temple in Łazar, 39.

Arabic Va: O Lord, count me in the number of your holy ones for the sake of your great benevolence. You did not punish us for the sins of our fathers and grandfathers, but you inspired us to recognise your divinity so that we might not perish in idolatry. You had mercy on your creatures, so that your eternal anger would not come upon us, your indignation be provoked upon us, and your wrath destroy us.

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107. Of the faith: *Ag*, *om*.

108. Pointlessly: *Ag*, *om*.

109. Ash-worship: *Ag*, vain worship.

110. The nature of the creation of: *Ag*, the natural creator and.

111. Wrath: *Ag*, threat.

§90. "So give [me] strength, Lord, to fight for the truth of your name, and to die and once again be renewed in glory* when you will send again to us the measurer of each one's deserts,* our Lord Jesus Christ, so that we too may stand with joyful faces before him and receive the crown of victory with your beloved ones.* You only will exist and remain forever, while all material and transitory creatures will pass away at your word.[112] You alone are eternal,[113] and you gather mankind like grain in barns* in their time, and again renew them. You make men's bones grow from the earth;† you make them blossom and you give new wings to your beloved like eagles.*

* II Cor. 3.18. * Col. 3.24. * I Cor. 9.25. * Mt. 3.12, 13.30, Lk. 3.17. * Is. 40.31.

† Bones from the earth. Cf. the renewed bones springing from the earth at the general resurrection in the *Teaching*, §648.

Arabic Va [§90-98]: O Lord, give me strength that I may endure unto death for the sake of your name, and may again arise at the second coming of your Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. O my omnipotent Lord, who aids those who hope in you and fulfils the wishes of all those who fear you, make me worthy to keep [my] faith in you. And let fear of you stand before me, so that I may be freed from those eternal torments which you have prepared for the impious and those estranged from you. Give me endurance in these pains which surround me, because you are the healer of our pains, the curer of our wounds, the comforter of the oppressed, the liberator of the bound, the consoler of the mourning, the giver of hope to the despairing, the provider of calm to the troubled, a harbour for all the drowning. Hear me, Lord, and answer my prayers. Show your light in this nation and illuminate their hearts. Make them sons of the daytime and children of light. Make them worthy to recognise your divinity, so that they may bless you, immortal God, and the only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and your holy Spirit. Allow me, Lord, to gain the crown with those who love you, who died for your name, and whose death is glorified before you. Make me worthy to be caught up on the clouds at the coming of your only-begotten; for yours is the glory and of your holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen."

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112. Creatures, at your word: *Ag*, things created through your word.

113. *Ag*: + and your only-begotten Son and the holy Spirit.

§91. "Lord of the day and establisher of darkness, creator of light, yours is the daytime and yours the evening; you have set luminaries for use as guides to your creatures that are on earth. You created the two luminaries for the service of the years' seasons, months and times, to complete the times by the measures of days in the world.* The one is lord of the daytime, who has the model† of your Only-begotten, the inextinguishable, unfailing, inexhaustible and uninterrupted light, who will be revealed to his just in the future world, where there are no days and no evenings, no weeks and no months, no years and no hours and no periods of time, no changing of years and no seasons of times. He alone is Lord and his name is unique. Through your blessings you make recompense of joy to your worshippers, whose blessings have no variation and whose rewards have no diminution.

* Gen. 1.14.

† Model: *awrinak*, as §60 above. For the Son as sun [cf. Mal. 4.2] see the *Teaching*, §566, and further patristic references in Lampe, s.v. *hēlios*.

§92. "The course of the lord of the evening, who has by your will the model of your Only-begotten, supports and carries [the model of] the renewal of the resurrection, in order to show and indicate to all earthly creatures the encouragement of the resurrection of all[114] the dead.† From the west to the east it moves towards youth, and again by your will it reaches the west in old age. It is shrouded and buried as a sign of the resurrection of the buried dead, and it brings the comfort of encouragement to creatures. It indicates the coming of your Son from heaven, and alludes to the renewal of the universe; it teaches the decline and decay of sinners and the shining forth of the just in the kingdom at the coming, and shows again the exaction made on those grown old in sin. Similarly, that which decays indicates you the eternal, the transitory you the permanent, that worn old you its renewer. By your will it is changed in form as your will commanded to occur, until the parables of the future be abolished, which you established and prepared for the day of fulfilment of your promises, when you will exact retribution on

114. All: *Ag*, *om*.

everyone through your Only-begotten and your holy Spirit; for yours is, and to you is fitting, glory for ever and ever.[115]*

* Rom. 16.27, II Tim. 4.18.

† The Resurrection occurred at night. See the *Teaching*, §483, and parallels in Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, XIV 22, XVIII 10.

§93. "Lord omnipotent, you who crown those who hope in you and fulfil the will of those who fear you, make me worthy, Lord, that I may preserve my hope* in you and the great fear which you will bring on the impious who oppose you. Give me endurance to complete my course* in the suffering that I am enduring. Doctor* of our pains, healer of the broken, comforter of the oppressed, liberator of the bound,* consoler of the mourning,* hope of the despairing,* rest* for the troubled, harbour* for the toiling, who lovingly care for your creatures and feed them all with your sweetness,* grant me, Lord, to receive the crown with those whom you have made worthy to die for your name, whose deaths are glorious before you, that I too may become worthy to be raised to the presence of your beloved Son, when he will carry off those who long for him to the rays of his light, to judge in truth the whole world by fire and his anger.[116]

* II Tim. 4.7. * II Tim. 4.7. * Mt. 9.12. * Ps. 145.7. * Is. 61.2, Mt. 5.4. * Jud. 9.16. * II Thess. 1.7. * Ps. 106.20. * Ps. 103.28, 144.16.

§94. "But now, Lord, strengthen your servant† for your name's sake, so that we may overcome the forces of the enemy. Remove and scatter the fog of the evil of heathen idolatry by your sweet love for your creatures. You who laid down your life for your sheep,* do not abandon your flock but lead them to the true path. You alone are able to forgive sins and expiate the transgressions and impieties of your creatures, so that they may worship you alone and do your will, and become glorifiers of your divinity, and be saved from your judgments, and rejoice in your ineffable blessings, that all may become worthy to stand before your majesty without shame or

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115. *Ag*: + Amen.

116. By...anger: *Ag*, in the anger of his heart.

confusion,[117]* so that you may reckon their acts of ignorance as innocence.

* Jn. 10.11. * Ps. 70.13.

† Your servant: *zcaṙays k'o.* The Armenian is ambiguous, meaning either "[me,] your servant," or "your servants." *Ag* renders with a singular, *ton sou doulon.*

§95. "You are accustomed to arrange and bring into existence from nothing† non-existent things and to bring into being creatures from nothing.[118]* For you did not abandon the races of mankind to their own inane[119] desires, but had mercy and sent your only-begotten Son, who came and brought back creatures to your divinity, and ordered the Gospel to be preached throughout the whole world.* Yours alone is glory, and to you is worship from all creatures fitting, as you alone are worthy of glory and honour.* Now have pity on your creatures[120] in your benevolence and grace towards this land of Armenians, that they may know you and your only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was sent by you to us, and who put on the flesh of[121] our humanity, and who depicted and imprinted himself† on the creatures of his own hands, that he might put on human flesh and through being related [to them] might bring men close to you.[122] Because men could not endure to see your face and live,* therefore he became in the likeness of men,* that he might make men worthy of his divinity; and so that we, seeing the divinity of the Son through the flesh related to ours, might honour [him]† through the benevolence of the Father, and also receive the grace of the benevolence of the holy Spirit from you. Thus the words of your Gospel may be granted to this world, so that they may know you[123] and the benefits of your benevolent grace which extends to all.

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117. Or confusion: *Ag, om.*

118. Arrange and, from nothing, from nothing: *Ag, om.*

119. Inane: *Ag, om.*

120. On your creatures: *Ag, om.*

121. The flesh of: *Ag, om.*

122. You: *Ag,* himself.

123. So ... you: *Ag, om.*

* II Macc. 7.28, Rom. 4.17. * Mt. 28.19. * I Tim. 1.17. * Ex. 33.20. * Phil. 2.7.

† Creation from "nothing, *oč'inč'*." Cf. below at §226, and the *Teaching*, §275, 439, 620; its author refers to "immaterial, undifferentiated, formless matter, *niwt'*, at §272.

† Put on the flesh, imprinted himself: For similar terminology regarding the Incarnation see the *Teaching*, §364, 407, with notes *ad loc* in Thomson, *Teaching II*.

† Might honour: *yargesc'uk'*. The form is both active and passive, so perhaps "might be honoured." *Ag* translates it as active.

§96. "You who are bountiful to all, grant us to become martyrs to your divinity, to be tortured for your name's sake,* to die for your truth,* and to be renewed again at your coming. You came and died on behalf of your creatures and joined our mortal nature to your immortality,† therefore let us be martyrs unto death for your life,[124] that we may be joined to the number of your martyrs. For what other return indeed can we make for the blessings [that come] from you, unless we give up our lives for your commandments to the goodwill of your desire, so that we may become inheritors of your kingdom with those who were pleasing before you, and we may offer ourselves as a sacrifice to your divinity;† that we may lose our lives and again find them* on the day of resurrection, that we may sit on your right hand* clothed in innocence among the lambs of the group on the right-hand side, your servants,[125] in the joy of your saints, who have loved your divinity and your only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ? He was[126] the true lamb* and offered himself to you as a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, that he might be a reconciler and intercessor between you the Creator and the creatures.* For those who have hastened to draw near to this goodwill, he has prepared dwellings in the kingdom of his divinity;* but to those who did not wish to comply with obedience to his coming he promised eternal torments.

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124. Life: *Ag*, immortality.

125. Your servants: *Ag*, with those who pleased [you].

126. And ... was: *Ag*, for your only-begotten Son was.

* Phil. 1.19. * Acts 21.13. * Mt. 10.39. * Mt. 25.33. * Jn. 1.36. * Gal. 3.19, Heb. 7.27, 9. 14-15. * Jn. 14.2. * Mt. 25.46.

† Joined. The verb *xaṙnel*, "to mingle, mix, join," is another common Armenian expression for the Incarnation; see the discussion in Thomson, *Teaching II*, 26-32.

† For martyrs "sacrificing" themselves see the *Teaching*, §598.

§97. "So, benevolent Lord, who came and was humbled and took the form of mankind* and gave yourself to every endurance, and did not turn yourself from the insults of being spat in the face,* and offered your cheek to those striking you,* and drank bitter vinegar and gall for us*—sweeten the heart of all men for your service, so that they may submit to your easy yoke* and be saved from eternal torments; for the earth has been filled with piety towards you. As for those who remain, let them not miss your paths of truth, and may they be invited to your royal table,† and may they enjoy your long-suffering. You came for the sake of all to be slaughtered like a lamb,* and you made [them] rejoice in your flesh which you gave for the salvation of all; and you gave as drink the streams of your gentleness,* your blood, for the life of the whole world. Have pity, so that all corners of the earth may remember and turn and come to you,* and that all who go down to the dust* may worship before you. You are able to raise them up again, to revive them and make them worthy of your benevolence, for by your blood they have been saved and freed from the power of darkness.* So let those for whose sake you died know you, for they are your servants and will become your worshippers, so that the anger of your wrath may not come upon men.

* Phil. 2.8. * Mt. 26.67. * Lam. 3.30, Lk.6.29. * Mt. 27.34. * Mt. 11.30. * Acts 8.32. * Ps. 35.9. * Ps. 21.28. * Ps. 21.30. * Col. 1.13-14.

† Royal table: as above at §84.

§98. "Make us sons of light and sons of the daytime,* so that your name may be glorified over all the universe. For you are glorified in your eternal kingdom,[127] you who exist in your essence, in your

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127. In ... kingdom: *Ag*, eternally in your kingdom.

being, in your individuality.[128]† You gave an example of suffering to your loved ones through your own sufferings and humility; you demonstrated persecution by being persecuted yourself; you demonstrated torture to your saints by enduring the torture of being buffeted yourself.[129]* But we earthly creatures, how at all can we bring into account our tribulations and sufferings? You, Lord, humbled yourself and accepted everything, and you removed the afflictions and torments of the whole universe. So strengthen me,[130] Lord, to endure the severity of the tribulation in which I find myself, so that my boasting in the tribulation of [my] torments* may endure, and so that I too may be considered equal with your beloved ones on the day in which you will bestow your ineffable blessings that are stored up for those who hope in you for ever."*

* I Thess. 5.5. * Mt. 26.67. * Rom. 5.3. * I Cor. 2.9, I Pet. 1.4.

† In your individuality, *yink'nut'iwnd*: For such terminology see the discussion in Thomson, *Teaching II*, 15-19. *Ag* renders it by *akatalēpsia*, probably reading *yank'nut'eand* [see the apparatus to *Aa*], misinterpreted as *yank'nnut'eand.*

§99. All this he spoke while hanging thus suspended, and the scribes of the tribunal wrote it down.[131]† He paid no heed to the gallows, and disregarded the blows of the bastinado, for they had broken all his body from the flagellation. And he said many more things while he was hanging upside down, and they wrote them down and brought them before the king, since he was hanging for seven days from one foot.[132] Then he gave a command and they brought him down.

† Scribes of the tribunal: *atenakal dpirk' nšanagrac'n.* Cf. the secretaries, *nšanagirk'*, in §176, who wrote down all that was said and reported back to king Trdat. There are numerous parallels in martyrologies, e.g. the *Martyrdom of Shmona and Guria*, §39; for the theme see Aigrain, *L'hagiographie*, 132-133. This passage is not to be taken as implying that a

128. Essence, being, individuality: *Ag*, eternity, without beginning, incomprehensibility.

129. *Ag*: + for our sake.

130. Me: *Ag*, my weakness.

131. *Ag*: + in shorthand, *dia sēmeion.*

132. From one foot: *Ag*, *om.*

written record of Gregory's prayers existed, though Agathangelos himself claims to be trained in the writing, *dprut'iwn*, of Latin and Greek, §12, and refers to the expression of Isaiah, "the pen of an experienced scribe, *dpir*," §894. For the use of the term *nšanagir* see also the Introduction, 92.

Greek Vg: 16. While he was making this prayer and expressing great joy, the stenographers made notes and reported everything, setting each word in writing, also adding the zeal of the holy one.

Arabic Va: So prayed [Gregory] while he was suspended. With rods they broke all his bones, but the holy one prayed and the scribes wrote down [lit. preserved] his words. He uttered even more prayers, but they did not record them. They left him hanging, went away and indicated to the king everything that the saint had said in their presence. He ordered him to be brought down and set before him.

[Gregory's Further Tortures and Imprisonment]

§100. Trdat, king of Armenia, began to speak with him, saying: "What is your opinion, and what decision have you made? To share in my life just as you have laboured with me[133] from a young age, or to die vainly in the inane thoughts of your foolish mind?"[134] He replied and said: "I am anxious to leave this body* and receive eternal life. But command in my case as you wish, whatever death you impose on me."

* II Cor. 5.8.

Greek Vg: 17. King Tiridates ordered the holy one to stand in front of him, and said to him: "Do you still remain in your vain opinion? Bring yourself back to our most noble way of life, and save yourself." 18. The holy one said to him: "To me belongs the future life; and the departure of the soul from the body is immortality. So do what you wish, O king, and provide a prompt deliverance of the flesh through the death sentence. For I cannot endure to see you worshipping abominable idols."

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133. With me: *Ag*, *om.*

134. Of your foolish mind: *Ag*, *om.*

Arabic Va: When he stood in his presence, king Trdat said to him: "What is your decision? Will you remain a Christian, or become like me as you were from your youth? But you have chosen death, Gregory." He responded: "I am anxious to leave this body and be with Christ in order to enjoy eternal life. Make haste and release me in death."

§101. The king replied and said: "I shall not give you that reward, that you may receive respite from tortures,[135] which you call eternal life. But I shall cause you to be tormented for a long time to prevent you from dying quickly, and shall rather torture you at length and exact retribution from you for your insults to the gods and your obstinacy in being unwilling to worship them."

Arabic Va: The king said: "I shall not do as you wish and kill you quickly, so that you may escape the torments and go to rest. But I shall torture you in a very cruel fashion until I have exacted retribution from you for the gods; because you dishonoured them and did not worship them."

§102. He commanded that blocks of wood be brought and fixed to his shins and feet and tightened with strong cords until the blood ran down to the tips of his toes.† And he said: "Do you feel or sense your pain at all?"† He replied and said: "I have been given strength* because I asked the Creator of creation, who is the architect and creator of everything visible and invisible."* And he commanded,[136] and they loosed him.

* Acts 1.8. * Heb. 11.10.

† Many of Gregory's tortures have parallels in the *Vkayk' Arewelic'*; see above, note to §69. For being squeezed between blocks of wood, see also the *Acts of Sharbil.*

† Insensitivity to pain is a stock theme in hagiography, see Delehaye, *Passions*, 207ff, Aigrain, *L'hagiographie*, 147.

Greek Vg: 19. The king ordered double blocks of wood to be brought, and through some contrivance that his feet be held compressed and

135. From tortures which: *Ag*, in death quickly and cease from tortures in what.

136. And he commanded: *Ag*, *om*.

tightly bound. The blood dripped from his toes, staining the ground red. When the king saw that, he said: "Do you feel the life of your faith?" 20. Gregory said: "I have been given strength from the divine power above in order that I may be victorious, wounding you the tyrant and your father the Devil."

Arabic Va: The king ordered that they should bring wood and beat his feet, that they should bind him with ropes so that they reached from his chest as far as his feet. And the blood flowed down from his fingers. The king said to him: "How do you find these torments, Gregory?" The blessed one responded and said: "The strength I requested has been granted me by God, because he is the disposer of everything; and through him I shall overcome you and your father, Satan."

Syriac Vs: 59. Once more he urged him with many [words], but he did not heed him. He gave orders and they squeezed him cruelly until they broke his bones. And he placed three men by him who beat him. He was like that for seven days.

§103. Then he commanded iron nails to be brought and driven through the soles of his feet. They took him by the hand and made him run this way and that. And the blood ran out from his feet and watered the ground in great abundance. Then again he said to him: "Are these the invisible creations of your God, which you see?"[137]

Greek Vg: 21. The king was angered even more, and ordered nails to be fixed in his feet. And he commanded his bodyguards to release him from his former bonds and drag him at a very fast pace, so that he watered the road with his blood. The impious one said to the holy one: "Do you call this eternal joy?"

Arabic Va: When the king heard his words, he ordered him to be released from the wood, and nails to be driven into his feet. This was carried out. Then he ordered his torturers to take him by the hand and drag him along. The blood flowed from his feet and soaked the ground.

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137. Of your … see: *Ag*, not those you do not see.

King Trdat said to him: "Where is the invisible creator about whom you were speaking?"

§104. He replied: "Rightly have you said that these are the invisible creations of my God, because 'it is sown in weakness and rises up in power; it is sown in dishonour, and rises up in glory.'* For 'they weep indeed who will take away their seeds'*—that is, toil and torments which come upon us for the sake of piety. But when the sheaf of wheat comes to harvest it will offer to the sowers the ripe fruit of its maturity, and likewise it brings the joy of total happy fruitfulness."*

* I Cor. 15.42-43. * Ps. 125.6a. * Ps. 125.6b.

Greek Vg: 22. Gregory said: "Divine scripture has transmitted to us: 'We are sown in weakness, we rise in strength, and being in dishonour we shall be in glory'."

Arabic Va [Sinai 460, Garitte's numbering]: *1. The blessed one replied and said to him: "Indeed, this is the invisible creation of my God. It is sown in weakness and rises up in strength; it is sown in corruption and rises up in health. And they indeed weep who throw their seed, which means: in adversities and afflictions and in pains that we endure for the sake of God. But when the harvest is ripe, we shall gather bundles of joy and rejoicing and happiness.*

§105. The king said: "Break the vessel of these tears of weeping; let joy come to him." They buffeted him on the head, striking him cruelly. He began to question him and said: "Is this happiness?" He replied: "Yes, it is. For unless the labourer sweats in the torrid heat of the shining sun, he will not gain the true reward of joyful rest in the winter." The king answered and said: "You have indeed laboured here at the toil of these torments in which you find yourself."

Greek Vg: 23. Again he ordered him to be struck and buffeted around the head, saying: "Is this the glory you speak of?" The holy one replied: "Yes. For then the worker receives a worthy reward, when in the sweat of labour he will reveal everything [sense unclear]*."*

Arabic Va: 2. Then the king said: "Strike him on the head." And to the blessed one he said: "Is this your joy about which you spoke to me?" But the holy one said to him. "Indeed, this is my joy. Unless the labourer will have sweated and endured the heat of the sun, he cannot boast of his produce." The king said: "So you must sweat and labour at this time."

§106. Then he ordered salt and borax and rough vinegar to be brought, and for him to be turned on his back, his head to be placed in a carpenter's vice, and a reed tube to be put in his nose, and this[138] to be poured down his nose.

Greek Vg: 24. The king [ordered] salt and vinegar and sodium carbonate to be mixed, and that he be turned on his back and this be poured into his nose through a reed pipe.

Arabic Va: And he ordered vinegar and soda [nitron] to be brought, and the holy one to be turned on his back, and his head to be put in a vice and held firmly, and reed tubes to be inserted, and the salt and soda to be dissolved in the vinegar and poured into his nose. And this was done.

§107. After that he commanded and they brought a large sheepskin sack and filled it with cinders from a furnace. They made it not quite full in order to let him breathe, but so that his mind was affected and he would be thus tormented. They fixed this over his head and tied the mouth of the sack round his neck. And he remained thus for six days. After that he gave a command and they led him before the king and removed the sack from his head.

Greek Vg: After that he ordered soot to be thrown in a bag and put around the head of the holy one and tied round his neck, so that when he breathed he might inhale the ashes.

Arabic Va: Then he ordered a sack to be brought and it to be filled with cinders of a furnace, and his head to be put in the sack, and they should tie the top of the sack round his neck so that he could not breathe, and when he did breathe he would inhale the cinders up his nose. And he left

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138. *Ag*: + mixture.

him in this torture for six days. 3. After that he ordered him to be led before him, and the sack to be removed from his neck.

Syriac Vs: 58. Although he treated him very violently, he did not give way to him. He gave orders and they brought a vessel, and in it they placed hot embers of fire. They put it on his head and tied it over him. He was like that for seven days; and then he gave orders and they let him down.

§108. The king began to speak and said: "Whence come you? Perhaps you come from the kingdom which you mentioned?" Gregory replied and said: "Yes, I indeed come from the kingdom of which I spoke, because God made me worthy to endure all this for his name's sake. Truly there awaits me the kingdom that passes not away—instead of cinders, unfading* flowers;[139] instead of the vinegar, inexhaustible joy."*

* I Pet. 1.4. * Job 36.26, Lam. 3.22.

Greek Vg: After that he said to the holy one: "Have you experienced your delight in paradise?" He said: "This soot has brought me a crown of unfading flowers."

Arabic Va: And the king said to him: "Whence have you come? I think that you come from the kingdom of which you spoke." Gregory said: "Yes, from the kingdom that I told you I came from. Now my God has made me worthy of torment for his name; and truly he has prepared for me the kingdom that does not perish. For the sake of these cinders he has prepared for permanent flowers, and in place of vinegar the joy that passes not away."

§109. The king, even more incensed, had his feet bound with cords of wineskins and him hung upside down. And he had a funnel placed in his bottom and had water poured from a wineskin[140] into his belly. Then he gave a command[141] and they brought him down. And he

139. Flowers: *Ag*, crowns.

140. From a wineskin: *Ag*, *om*.

141. Then he gave a command: *Ag*, *om*.

began to question him, saying: "Will you do my desire, or will you not serve the gods who are the life and prosperity of the whole earth?"

Arabic Va: 4. Then the king was filled with anger.

Syriac Vs: 56. Trdat became angry, and the wicked one ordered that they hang him upside down. They placed a funnel in his bottom and poured water into him until he was swollen up. He placed seven men by him to beat him. They poured water into him and struck him. He was like that for three days, and then they let him down. 57. He addressed him saying: "Where is your God who was unable to save you from my hands?" The martyr of God said to him: "See that in all this torture which you have inflicted upon me, he did not remove his hands from me so that I die."

§110. Gregory replied and said: "I worship the Lord my God, for he is creator and life and prosperity; and the Son, fashioner and equal in power and deed; and his Spirit, who filled the whole universe with wisdom.† But the hammered idols, sculpted and polished and worked,* I never held to be gods. And may I never so hold any other so long as my breath is in my body." The king replied and said: "In return for daring to call the gods hammered and polished, let him pay retribution for that."

* Wis. 13.11, Is. 41.7.

† And the Son ... wisdom. This phrase, though also in *Ag*, seems to be a later addition, for "Lord" is in the dative case after "worship" [correctly], but "Son" and "Spirit" are in the accusative. This is one of many retouchings to the Armenian text noted by Meillet; see his "Remarques," 473.

§111. He ordered his flanks to be torn with iron scrapers until all the ground was bathed with his blood.† And he began to say to him: "So will you do my desire, Gregory, now that you have been given over to such torments?" He replied: "May I keep the covenant of piety that I learned from my youth,* which† can save me from every tribulation,* and cast into[142] torment you who do not know him and also wish to frighten others and separate them from the service of his

142. *Ag*: + unending.

love." The king replied and said: "Where is your God who will save you from my hands, or judges, as you say, by his own judgments?"

* II Tim. 3.15. * I Tim. 4.8.

† Torture by scraping with iron combs is very common; see the references in Thomson, *Agathangelos I*, note *ad loc.*

† Covenant … which. The Greek has a masculine relative pronoun after the feminine noun "covenant," implying that the subject of "can save" is God. The Armenian *or*, "who" or "which," makes no distinction of grammatical gender.

Arabic Va: [The king] ordered him to be hung up and his flanks to be torn with an iron scraper; and the place where the holy one was being tortured was filled with his blood. He said to the holy one: "Will you now obey me and do my bidding, Gregory?" The blessed one replied to him and said: "I [shall] keep the commandment of my God that I learned from my youth, [of him] who is able to save me from all tribulation and sadness. And because you do not recognise him, therefore you urge me with threats to abandon my religion and love of Christ, to be in perpetual punishment." Then the king said to him: "Where is your God? Let him now come and save you from my hands."

Syriac Vs: 60. After that they brought an iron as sharp as a barber's razor, and they scraped his head and his body.

§112. He gave a command and they brought iron thistles in many baskets and cast them thickly[143] on the ground.† They stripped Gregory and threw him naked onto the thistles. His flesh was pierced all over. They dragged and buried and rolled him in the thistles[144] until every part of his body was torn,[145] so that no place was left intact.†

† Thistles, *tatasks* [*tribolos* in *Ag*] are spiked implements, "caltrops."

† So that … intact. There is an exact verbal parallel to this in the *Vkayk' Arewelic'*, 208. Meillet, "Remarques," 462, notes further problems in the printed Armenian text.

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143. Thickly: *Ag, om.*

144. In the thistles: *Ag, om.*

145. Was torn: *Ag, om.*

Greek Vg: 25. Next he commanded iron caltrops to be scattered on the ground, and the holy one to be stripped and dragged until the ground beneath him was covered in blood.

Arabic Va: And the king ordered iron thistles to be brought, and he put one sticking to the other over the ground. And he commanded the holy one to be thrown on them stripped of his clothes, and to be pressed down on them until they penetrated his body. And this was indeed carried out.

Syriac Vs: 65. After that they brought him down. And they made thistles of iron and rolled the martyr of Christ over them. They tore his body, and his blood flowed on the ground.

§113. The next day they brought him before him [the king]. He began to question him, saying: "I am very greatly amazed how you are able to stay alive. You have counted your pains as nothing, and you still speak; for long before now you should have died from [such][146] tortures."

Greek Vg: The king was amazed that one subjected to different tortures for so many days would still be alive.

Arabic Va: 5. The next day he summoned him and said to him: "I am amazed and ponder much on the fact that you are still alive, and do not worry about the multitude of torments that I prepared for you. Indeed you bravely say that you are anxious for death, though it is long since that you are in torment."

§114. Gregory replied and said: "My ability to endure this is not through my own power, but through the strength of the grace of my Lord and of my well-disposed will, which I sought from him so that you might test this servant of God, that you might know that no one can separate from his love those who hope in him.* He gives strength and power to endure and bear afflictions and testings, so that the lawless may be ashamed in their inanity and impiety and rebellion.*

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146. *Ag*: such.

They will become like you, and will stand in shame on the day of visitation and[147] reproach."

* Rom. 8.39. * Ps. 24.4.

Arabic Va: Then the holy Gregory said: "Not by my own power do I endure this punishment of yours, but I am helped by my God, Jesus Christ. He it is who through my prayers to him strengthens me, so that you may know that there is no one who can separate me from his love, like those who trust in him; for he grants strength and help to those who endure afflictions for his sake. Those who have no law [nāmūs] will be disgraced, the hypocrites like you, and they will recognise their weakness and be disgraced on the day of his coming."

Syriac Vs: 66. During all these torments his soul remained strong and he confessed God. He prayed for his persecutors that they might come to the path of truth, be converted and live.

§115. Then he commanded iron leggings to be put on his knees, and that large hammers be used,[148] and that he be suspended on the gibbet[149] until his knees were shattered.† And he stayed hanging thus for three days.

† There is another parallel to this torture in the *Martyrdom of Shmona and Guria*, §35. Hammers: *Ag* renders by "wedges, *sphenas*;" for *sphēn* as an instrument of torture see the references in Liddell and Scott, *ad loc.*

Arabic Va: At this king Trdat was greatly angered, and he ordered iron boards to be tied under his feet with an iron wedge between, and that he be hung upside down for three days. And this was carried out.

Syriac Vs: 64. Then Trdat was angry He ordered them to bend his knees and cover them with sheaths of iron, and to attach† them to each other and fasten them with nails; and they should place iron [fetters] on his

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147. *Ag*: + their.

148. Large hammers be used, *varel u[illegible]uns stuars*: *Ag*, to fix thick wedges, *pēxai pacheis sphēnas*.

149. On the gibbet: *Ag*, *om*.

hands and feet, and a large stone on his neck; and they should hang him upside down. They did that for seven days.

† Emending *ndrqwn*, to *ndbqwn*. I thank David Taylor for the suggestion. *Vk* has *ylṣqw*, meaning the same.

§116. On the fourth[150] day the king gave a command, and they brought him down from the gibbet[151] and led him before him. The king began to speak and said: "See, Gregory, your futile hope in which you had confidence did not save you or deliver you from my hands."

Arabic Va: At the end of the third day he ordered him to be brought, and said to him: "I see, Gregory, that your futile faith did not save you from what you mentioned, nor did it deliver you from my hand."

Syriac Vs: 67. Trdat summoned him and said: "Where is this God of yours? Behold, I have tormented you, and he was not able to help you and rescue you from my hands."

§117. Gregory replied and said: "See, your hopes are vain and they could not persuade me or make me doubt.[152] For that which you serve[153] is futile, as is the whole activity of your error. See,[154] I was not in the least afraid of your tortures, and I considered as nothing your fearsome menaces.[155] But through the power of my Lord I fought with the enemy, who in hidden fashion wars through you against the truth, and I submitted my body to the burning torments. Be it[156] sooner or later, nonetheless the body grows old and is dissolved.* The architect[157]* will come and find the sons of men, and

150. Fourth: *Ag*, third [and many MSS in *Aa*].

151. From the gibbet: *Ag*, *om.*

152. Doubt: *Ag*, frightened.

153. That which you serve: *Ag*, your hope.

154. See: *Ag*, Do you not see?

155. And...menaces: *Ag*, *om.*

156. *Ag*: + one way or another.

157. *Ag*: + and creator.

will renew this same that has grown old.* Those whose souls he finds living in decency, in sobriety, in holiness, in sweetness, in gentleness, and in piety*—he will renew, adorn and vivify these same souls with the same body. But those whom he finds living in lawlessness and impiety, hating God and worshipping idols, although their bodies may flourish for a while, yet with that same soul and body he will cast them into hell,[158] into the inextinguishable fire,* into eternal torments—and especially those who are like you in idolatry."

* II Cor. 5.1. * Heb. 11.10. * Phil. 3.21. * Tit. 2.12. * Mk. 9.43

Arabic Va: 6. Gregory said: Recognise from this, O iniquitous one, the lack of your power, in that you were unable to remove me from the love of my God, nor by your corrupt word could you turn my mind away from his love. I do not fear your punishment, for by the power of my God, Jesus Christ, I have fought the enemy who through you fights against the truth. I have given over my body to pains and torture, because I know that willingly or not there is no escape from this corruptible body being destroyed, and that old corruptible man must be weakened, until the Founder and Creator of all comes and renews again men who have grown old. Those who have lived in the world in humility and piety, holy and glorifying [God] and in justice and fear, those he renews, adorns and vivifies. But the impious and opponents who do not fear God and worship idols, those he sends to the inextinguishable fire for ever, and compensates them for their sins, especially those who, like you, serve idols.

Syriac Vs: 68. The true martyr, the champion lord Gregory, said to him: "My God is with me all the time, and he will help me. He is strong and merciful. Because of his mercy he gave me strength over all your torments which you inflicted on me, so that you might know him and turn towards him, confessing him. Me too he will make happy at the resurrection in his heavenly kingdom. And if you do not turn towards him, he will torture you in Gehenna with the demons whom you worship."

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158. Hell, *gehen*: *Ag*, *geenan*.

§118. When the king heard this he was angry at the speech[159] and said: "I have no interest in that; whether your God will renew you or not is not my concern. But because you said 'he will cast you into inextinguishable fire,' now I will burn you with fire that can be extinguished. Let us see what your God will do."

Arabic Va: 7. When the king heard that he was extremely angry, and said to him: "I am not interested in your saying that your God will renew me on the last day; but I am greatly incensed in that you tell me that he will send me into inextinguishable fire. However, I shall quickly honour you in this world with that fire that can be extinguished, so that I may see whether your God will save you."

§119. He ordered lead to be melted in iron cauldrons, and while it was still hot to be poured like water[160] over his body.† And his flesh was completely burned. Yet he did not die, but withstood it with great fortitude. And to whatever they asked he replied immediately.

† Molten lead. For parallels cf. the *Acts of T'aŀeay*, in *Vark'* I, 508, and Boyce, *Letter of Tansar*, 48 [where one could be plunged into a cauldron of molten lead].

Greek Vg: Next he ordered lead to be melted and poured over his whole body, so that in that way he might be able to kill him. 26. The holy one nobly accepted this punishment too, praising God who enabled him to endure these cruel punishments.

Arabic Va: Then the king ordered lead to be melted in iron cauldrons and that they should lower him into it. This was carried out. But when he was lowered, all the heat faded, and the holy one remained untroubled in mind, replying to his words.

Syriac Vs: They melted lead in the fire and poured it over him. Then the martyr of Christ, the valiant lord Gregory, hanging upside down prayed as follows: 61. "Lord God, pantocrator, compassionate and benevolent, give me victory and have pity on all your people. Illuminate the eyes of

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159. At the speech: *Ag*, exceedingly.

160. Like water: *Ag*, *om*.

the minds of these men so that they may know that you alone are the God of truth." 62. Trdat ordered that he be brought down. He addressed him, saying: "I do not see that this God of yours whom you love has helped you in any way." 63. The martyr of Christ said to him: "My God is patient and abundant in goodness and truth. He does not wish the death of a sinner. He will give me strength so that I can endure these torments of yours, in order that thereby you may know that he is all-powerful. So now fear him and turn towards him."

§120. The king was amazed at his incredible fortitude and endurance and at his persistence, and said: "How does there remain breath in you after so long and after these cruel tortures with which I have afflicted you?" Gregory replied and said: "Did I not tell you earlier to test the endurance of this servant of God? For he gives strength in order to confound those who are without him[161] and who resist him like you. He says as follows: 'I shall neither abandon you nor forsake you.'* So this is his protection for his creatures and his loved ones, to keep them in their faith in him until he will reward them at his coming."

* Ps. 36.28, Jn. 14.18.

Greek Vg: On the next day the king had him brought and said to him: "Astonishment overwhelms me, and I am amazed how you have not died after experiencing such terrible things." 27. Saint Gregory said: "My God has provided me with power from above to endure these punishments readily; for I am not afraid to discard and hand over to corruption my body, which will be renewed into incorruptibility. Encouraged by these promises, we are preserved through the grace of Christ."

Arabic Va: Then the king was greatly astonished at his endurance, and said to him: "How are you now in spirit and body, when you have been tortured by me for so long with various torments?" Saint Gregory replied and said: "Did I not tell you that you would be tested by us, the servants of the true God, and that he would give us strength and endurance so we might confound his enemies and his adversaries, like

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161. Who are without [*aṙanc'*] him: *Ag*, who fight him from outside.

you? By these commandments we are protected and preserved through the gift that he gave us for his name's sake, [as also] to all his friends, so he might reward us in his second coming. For by his power we have endured this cruel punishment for the sake of the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

§121. While Tiridates was planning to speak with him in a gentler fashion and to suggest and promise him life and honours, to which he would not have agreed—"If he does not agree to this, he said, then I will increase [the torments][162] still more and torture him for a long time"—there came forward one of the princes, whose name was Tačat, son-in-law of Artavan the king's *sparapet*;[163]† and he began to speak and give information about him as follows: "Because he is unworthy of life, therefore he does not wish to live[164] and see the light. All this time he has been living among us, yet we did not recognise him. But he is the son of the guilty Anak, who killed your father Xosrov and brought darkness to this land of Armenia and handed this country over to destruction and captivity. So it is not right for him to live, because he is the son of a guilty man."

† *Sparapet*: Commander-in-chief of the army, a position hereditary in the Mamikonean family; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 560-61. Tačat, prince of Ašoc‘, is mentioned again in §860. Movsēs Xorenac‘i, II 78, has changed Artavan [Mamikonean] to Artavazd Mandakuni in accordance with his bias against the Mamikoneans; see above, note to §36.

Syriac Vs: 69. While he was saying this, one of his nobles spoke up and said to him: "Why are you treating this rebel thus, for he is the son of Anak your father's brother, who killed your father and destroyed all Armenia? It is not right that this man should live." He was acquainted with the saint from his nurse.

§122. After so many interrogations and torments, beatings and imprisonments, bindings and hangings, bitter afflictions and every

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162. *Ag*: + the torments.

163. Whose name ... *sparapet*: *Ag*, *om*.

164. Live ... light: *Ag*, see the light and be pitied.

torture[165] that they had inflicted on him, which he accepted with great patience[166] for the sake of the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, then when the king discovered this further about him that he was in truth the son of Anak the Parthian who had killed his father Xosrov, he ordered him to be bound hand and foot and neck, and to be taken to the province of Ayrarat and shut up in the fortress of the city of Artašat, and let down into the bottommost pit that was incredibly deep, until he died there. And he was[167] in that pit thirteen[168] years.† But the king himself went to his winter-quarters in the province of Ayrarat in the city of Vałaršapat, in the East of Armenia.

† Thirteen years. The Armenian text of Agathangelos alternates between thirteen and fifteen years for the length of Gregory's imprisonment; see §124, 132 [13 years], 215, 233, 245 [15 years]. At this point *Va* and *Vs* give 15 years. *Vg* at §218 gives 15 years, *Vo* "many years" [as *Aa* §217]. "Fourteen" is only attested in *Ag*, also at §124, 132.

Greek Vg: 28. Tiridates, giving a final sentence, ordered him to be led off bound in chains to the city of Artašat, and to be cast into a pit in which there was a mass of poisonous beasts, where those thrown in before him had died; for the pit was filled with adders and snakes and scorpions. But when the saint was let down into the pit, the beasts withdrew.

Arabic Va: 8. Then the king ordered them to bind saint Gregory hand and foot, and to put a chain on his neck, and that he be taken to the town of Artašat and let down into a deep pit in which there were snakes and scorpions, so that those reptiles might devour him. This was duly carried out. Then king Trdat after [some] time came to that town to spend the winter in it. And the blessed one remained in that pit for fifteen years; he had his food and drink and preservation by God's gift. But the serpents did not approach him at all.

Syriac Vs: 70. Then Trdat was astonished and startled. He gave orders that they should bind his hands and feet in fetters, should put a chain on

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165. Bitter ... torture: *Ag*, *om.*

166. With great patience: *Ag*, *om.*

167. *Ag*: + thrown down and remained.

168. Thirteen: *Ag*, fourteen.

his neck and throw him into a pit. So they did that, and threw him into a pit that was four spear lengths deep. 71. There were in it many snakes, beasts, vipers and filth. Whenever the king was offended against anyone, they cast him in it. He gave orders, and they threw him in that pit; and he was in it for fifteen years. 72. But merciful and compassionate God, who hearkens to his servants and does not neglect his worshippers, sent through an angel to a certain widow that she should throw loaves of bread into that pit every day. She did this by the providence of God for fifteen years, every day throwing a loaf of bread into the pit. 73. That was for the nourishment of the saint. And God preserved him from those beasts, just as he had saved Daniel in the pit from the lions. He gave him victory over the demons his enemies, and he converted from error all the people there.

§123. King Trdat spent the whole period of his reign devastating the land of the Persian kingdom and the land of Asorestan. He plundered and caused terrible distress. Therefore this saying was adopted among the proverbial sayings: "Like the haughty Trdat, who in his pride devastated the banks of rivers, and in his arrogance dried up the torrents of seas."† For truly he was haughty in dress and endowed with great strength and vigour; he had solid bones and an enormous body; he was incredibly valiant and warlike, tall and broad of stature. He spent his whole life in war and gained triumphs in combats.[1] He acquired a great renown for bravery[2] and extended throughout the whole world the glorious splendour of his victories. He threw his enemies into disarray and revenged his ancestors. He devastated many of the regions of Syria and took a great amount of plunder from them.† He put to the sword the armies of the Persians and acquired enormous booty. He became commander of the cavalry of the Greek army,[3] and handed over to them the camps [of the enemy].† He expelled the armies of the Huns by force[4] and subjected the regions of Persia.

† There is similar bravado in the *Buzandaran* IV 54, where Vasak boasts of standing with his feet on two mountains which sank when pressed down, namely the kings of Persia and of the Roman empire. For such "proverbial sayings, *bank' aṙakac'*," deriving from epic tales see above at §43.

† Syria: *Asorik'*, i.e. the Roman province, to be distinguished from *Asorestan*, northern Mesopotamia.

† Camps: *banak* can also mean "army."

Syriac Vs: 74. Then Trdat took the kingdom of his fathers, and grew mightily in strength.

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1. Combats: *Ag*, single-combats.
2. For bravery: *Ag*, *om.*
3. Cavalry of the Greek army: *Ag*, of the generals of the Romans.
4. By force: *Ag*, *om.*

§124. During those thirteen[5] years that Gregory was in the dungeon of the fortress, in the deep pit, a certain widow who lived in that fortress received a command in a dream to prepare a loaf a day and to throw it into the deep pit.† Thereby he was nourished by God's command for the years he was there, and in that pit where they had thrown him he was kept alive by the grace of his Lord. But other men, once they had been let down there, all perished because of the atrociously bad air of the place, because of the muddy mire,† the snakes who lived there and the depth. That place had been constructed for evil-doers and for the execution[6] of those condemned to death in all[7] Armenia.

† Widow, loaf: reminiscent of Elijah and the widow in III Kingdoms 17.2, 13. Cf. the woman who cares for imprisoned Christians in *Vkayk' Arewelic'*, 222.

† Mire: *tilm*. Cf. the pit, *gub*, into which Jeremiah was thrown, which contained no water but was full of *tilm*, Jer. 38.6. For snakes in the pit, *gub*, cf. the *Acts of T'alleay*, in *Vark' ew Vkayabanut'iwnk'*, 508. Russell notes the parallel between Gregory's descent into the pit of snakes and Christ's descent into Hell as elaborated in later hymns and encomia on Gregory; see his "A Bas-Relief on the Cathedral of the Holy Apostles at Kars, Armenia."

Greek Vg: He himself was nourished by the grace of God: a woman, one of the inhabitants of the city who lived a pious life, brought bread and water to the pit.

§125. Then king Trdat ordered an edict† to be made throughout the whole land of his dominion,* with a command as follows:

* III Macc. 3.7.

† Edict: *hrovartak*, an official letter or decree; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 533. It is rendered in *Ag* by "letters, *grammata*," here and by "*diataxis*, command, decree," in §133.

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5. Thirteen: *Ag*, fourteen.

6. Execution: *Ag*, punishment.

7. All: *Ag*, *om*.

Greek Vg: 29. After that Tiridates imposed a decree throughout the whole country of Greater Armenia, to the governors, satraps and commanders. Its command was as follows:

Arabic Va [§125-136]: 9. Now after that king Trdat gave an order and sent his officials and governors of regions to all the provinces under his authority; and he commanded people to sacrifice to the gods and to worship them, and that all who would not sacrifice or worship them were to be bound hand and foot and brought to the king. And his anger increased against the believers in Christ, and he said that it was they who kept men from the worship of the gods. He promised many gifts to all those who would expose a Christian; while to all those who might hide them he promised severe punishment and a cruel death—"just as I did, to my friend Gregory, who did not agree with me. After various torments I cast him into a pit to die from serpents, and for the sake of dread for the gods I did not keep my love for him. And for your dread [of them] may you receive salvation from the gods."

§126. "Trdat, king of Greater Armenia, to the magnates, the princes, the nobles, the officials and other men under my authority,* in the towns, villages, hamlets, and estates, to the freemen and the peasants,[8]† to everyone together, greetings.

* III Macc. 7.2.

† Peasants: *šinakank'*; for this group in society, the vast majority of the population see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 559. They are distinguished from the *azatk'*, the "freemen" of the text, by not being free from taxation. *Ag* here renders the term by *apeleutheroi*, which means "freed men," and in §134 by *politai*, which means "citizens."

Greek Vg [§126, 134]: "To all my subject governors, satraps, generals, and to all the people, greetings.

§127. "May there be health and prosperity[9] by the help of the gods,* abundant fertility from noble Aramazd, protection from Lady Anahit, valour from valiant Vahagn,† to you and to all our land of

8. Peasants, *šinakank'*: *Ag*, freed men, *apeleutheroi*.

9. Health and prosperity: *Ag*, providence, *pronoia*.

Armenia. May there be the wisdom of the Greeks to the province of the Caesars, protection from our heroic Parthians, from the glory† of [our] kings and brave ancestors.[10]

* III Macc. 7.2.

† Aramazd, Anahit, Vahagn: rendered in *Ag* by Zeus, Artemis, and Heracles, the usual Greek equivalents, as in Movsēs Xorenac'i. Cf. §53 for Aramazd and Anahit. Vahagn's major shrine is described in §809. Fertility from Aramazd: *parartut'iwn.*˙ See Russell, *Zoroastrianism*, 517, for the importance of this concept in Zoroastrianism.

† Glory: *p'aṙk'*, the numinous glory that protected the king of Iran, and was adopted by Armenian Christians for God and the saints. It is a key feature of Zoroastrianism; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 552, for recent bibliography, and Thomson, *Agathangelos I,* note *ad loc*, for some parallels in other early Armenian historians.

§128. "Let everyone know from this command of ours to you that we are concerned for your prosperity. When we were in the land of the Greeks we saw there the solicitude of their kings in caring for the prosperity of their land, in honouring the altars of the gods with buildings and sacrifices and gifts of notable offerings, and all kinds of presents and fruits, offering them a share of everything, being most assiduous in worshipping, embellishing, adorning and magnifying the noble, magnificent and eternal gods. And this further we saw, how from the same gods in compensation they gained peaceful and populous prosperity, abundant and overflowing fertility, and were honoured with every blessing and enjoyed peace and happiness.

§129. "Therefore the kings of that land by their commands instilled fear in men to be assiduous in the cult of the gods. Lest perchance some of the common masses in ignorance might neglect it, or someone in a sudden derangement might dare to scorn the cult of the gods, a strong command was issued by the kings that the nobles in each one's sphere of office should extirpate and remove [such persons], so that the prosperity of the country might be increased by

10. To you ... ancestors: *Ag*, to all the land, and what follows. *Ag* omits the rest of the edict, *Aa* §128-131.

the gods. For if perchance someone were suddenly to disdain the gods, great harm would be occasioned by the gods' anger. Such people would destroy themselves and bring upon the country terrible damage from them [the gods]. Therefore the kings of the Greeks ordered threats of the death penalty for such people in their land.†

† An interesting example of edicts urging respect for the gods is that of Maximin, promulgated during Trdat's reign but not addressed to him; see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, IX 7. It stresses the protection and prosperity provided by Zeus, and the accursed folly of those who oppose the gods, who are to be expelled. Following this edict Eusebius describes Maximin's persecution of Armenian Christians. It is curious that despite the early translation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* [from the Syriac version], Maximin is only mentioned by Armenian historians as one of the opponents of their great hero, Constantine. The reference to his persecution of Armenians as Christians is not taken up. Because the persecution took place in the eastern Roman empire and not in Greater Armenia, perhaps it was considered irrelevant to the history of Christianity in Greater Armenia and the reputations of Saint Gregory and king Trdat; cf. above, Introduction, 26. An example of the literary genre of such edicts in hagiography is the edict attributed to Licinius in the *Martyrdom of the Forty-five Martyrs of Nicopolis*.

§130. "So we, desiring prosperity for you and anxious that fruitful blessings be increased by the gods for you, command that on your part you pay them worship and glory; then from them [will flow] prosperity, abundance and peace. For just as every householder cares for his house and family, so do we care for the prosperity of our land of Armenia.

§131. "So all princes, magnates, freemen, officials and beloved of our majesty, peasants and inhabitants, clients and dependents of our Arsacid family, whom we provided for, raised, took care of and promoted in order to care for our common advantage, do you honour the gods. But if unexpectedly someone be found who may dishonour the gods, if such be found let them be bound hand and foot and neck and brought to the royal court. And let their house and sustenance, goods and property and treasure all belong to those who expose such people. May you all be well by the help of the gods and of our majesty, you who abide by this command; may you all live in prosperity, as we are well."

§132. All the years of his reign king Trdat warred against the Persian empire, seeking vengeance in battle. And so for all the years that Gregory was in the pit, about thirteen,[11]† Trdat's fierce struggle with the Persian king[12] continued, all the days of his life.

† About thirteen; see the note to §122 for the variation in the number of years Gregory was in the pit.

§133. Then he ordered another edict to be published throughout the lands and provinces of his realm,[13] as follows:

§134. "Tiridates,† ruler of Greater Armenia, to the lands and provinces, princes and soldiers and peasants,[14] to all, greetings. Be well, and we ourselves are well.

† Tiridates: *Trdatios*; cf. above, §37, but especially §800, 877. This form is used where a Greek spelling would be expected, i.e. in an edict or letter. The timing of Trdat's edict of persecution is unclear. It would appear to come towards the end of Gregory's thirteen years of imprisonment, just before the nuns fled from Rome, only to be martyred in Armenia; see the next section. That supposedly occurred in the reign of Diocletian [284-305]. Agathangelos does not say when Trdat was restored to the Armenian throne, but according to Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 82, it was in Diocletian's third year. So the persecution would have started circa 299/300 [284+3 + 12/13?]. But it would be rash to look for historical reality in the details of Agathangelos's hagiographical narrative.

§135. "You yourselves know how from the time of our ancestors we were granted many victories and peace by the help of the gods, and how we subjected all races and held them in obedience. But when we were not able to please the gods with worship or favourably incline their will towards us,[15] then in their anger they deprived us of our great authority. So we particularly command you in the matter

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11. About thirteen: *Ag*, fourteen.

12. King: *Ag*, kings.

13. The lands ... realm: *Ag*, his lands.

14. Peasants: *Ag*, citizens.

15. Favourably ... us: *Ag*, we despised their commands.

of the sect of Christians, that if any are found, be they thousands or myriads,[16] because they are an insuperable obstacle to the worship of the gods, that if such people be found and immediately exposed, those who reveal them will be granted gifts and honours from the royal treasury. If, however, anyone does not reveal such people but hides them, and he be discovered, then let such a one be counted among those condemned to death, and after being brought to the royal tribunal may he die and his house be confiscated to the royal treasury.[17]

Greek Vg: The abominable faith of the Christians has been discovered by us in one of our dearest [subjects].

§136. "Similarly, I did not spare my deserving Gregory, my friend, whom for this same cause I tortured with cruel and severe torments, and then had him thrown into the incredibly deep pit so that he might be food for the snakes there; for I counted as nothing his great merits in my love and respect for the gods, so that you too might have this awe and dread of death. So may you live under the protection of the gods, and from us be able to find blessings. Be well, and we ourselves are well."

Greek Vg: Inflicting the cruelest punishments on him, I mean on Gregory, we have dispatched him to a pit for him to die promptly, in the city of Artašat. We needed to make this clear. Therefore I command you also to track down such people and to send them to us bound in their whole body. If anyone is detected in hiding, let him [suffer] a very cruel death. For if we did not have pity on Gregory our dear friend, but sent him to be consumed by snakes and adders with such punishments, how shall we spare someone else? So, as you all bear in mind awe for the king, let us be watchful in these matters, so that those who provide information may become worthy of rewards, but those who hide or are sluggish will risk danger."

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16. Be they ... myriads: *Ag, om.*

17. Royal treasury, *ark'unik'*: *Ag*, public treasury, *dēmosion*.

VII. THE MARTYRDOM OF RHIPSIME, GAIANE AND THEIR COMPANIONS

[Diocletian seeks a Wife]

§137. It happened in those times that the emperor Diocletian sought a wife. Then painters who could produce a true likeness were sent out and circulated throughout his whole empire. They painted on tablets as a shining likeness the beauty of the face and mascaraed eyebrows with faithful colours to show before the king and please his eye.†

† For such searches in Byzantine times see the entry "Bride Shows" in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, I, 323-324. Rydén, "The Bride-shows," mentions Agathangelos, but deals primarily with the Greek texts of the late 8th-10th centuries; he doubts their historical reality, regarding the accounts as a literary motif. Cf. also Treadgold, "Bride-shows." There is a biblical parallel in Esther, ch. 2.

Greek Vg: 30. After some time Diocletian, the king of the Romans, sent out trustworthy men through all the cities subject to the Romans with instructions to find the most comely and beautifully formed daughter of the magnates, and to bring her to him with a view to marriage.

Arabic Va: 10. That same year king Diocletian sought a wife to take in marriage. He sent throughout his dominion to all painters, and ordered them to go around through his whole kingdom; and where they might find a beautiful maiden they were to paint her and bring him her picture.

Syriac Vs: And Diocletian raised a persecution against the Christians. 75. One day he saw an image of a woman who was very beautiful. He ordered his servants to take the model of that image on a cloth, and to travel round his whole empire until they should find for him a woman like the model, and they should come and inform him.

§138. Then they came and found in the city of Rome a convent of virgins,† living solitary hermetic[1] lives,† eating vegetables, sober,

1. Hermetic: *Ag*: *en eremiais*, in desert places.

modest, and pure women of the Christian faith, who day and night and the whole time by praising and blessing were worthy to raise to God on high their perfect prayers. Their leader was called Gaiane, and her protegée, who was descended from pious and royal lineage, was called Rhipsime.[2] †

† Convent: *argelavank'*, lit. "enclosure," only attested here in the *NBHL*, rendered in *Ag* by *monastērion.*

† Hermetic: *leṙnakan,* which means "[living] in the mountains," but is widely used of hermits, *mianjnakan,* as is *ěndakers,* "eating vegetables." The rendering in *Ag* implies living in solitude.

† Gaiane, Rhip'sime, *Gayianē, Hṙip'simē.* For attestation of these names, found in Anatolia, see Outtier-Thierry, 701-702. An etymology is proposed in §175 that "Rhip'sime" is derived from the Greek verb *ripto,* "to throw;" see the note *ad loc.*

Protegée, *san,* a person of either sex brought up outside his/her original family; the guardian is called *dayeak;* see the discussion in Garsoïan, *Epic Histories,* 521. The practice was widespread in Armenian society, aimed at cementing bonds between noble families. Its application to females is much less commonly attested than for young males, but see the note to §217 *re* Xosroviduxt. For Rhip'sime's supposed royal ancestry see also §167 and §878 [where it is claimed that the emperor Constantine knew her]. This idea is elaborated in the apocryphal *History of the holy Rhipsimeank'* and even more so in the *Synaxarion*; see Outtier and Thierry, 696 and 702, n. 17. Ananean, "La Data," 346-349, finds it quite plausible that aristocratic women fled from the outrages of Maximin Daia in Rome.

The number of virgins is not given here, but is implied in the later account of their martyrdom to be more than 70 [§199, 209]. Of these 37 were martyred according to §209 and Gregory's vision in §737. But the account in *Aa* is not consistent. According to §199 thirty-two "saints" were put to death after the martyrdom of Rhipsime; these had come out to bury the "bodies" of the martyrs. However, when the virgin in the vat-store, §201, is added, Agathangelos says that Rhipsime died with 33 companions and Gaiane with two, making a total of 37. The Syriac version divides the "more than 70" into two groups: 37 went to Awan, and 40 were martyred; see the Introduction, 99, for the significance of Awan. *Ag* adds here "and there were many others with them." In the later *Georgian Chronicles,* 80-81, it is stated that there were 50 souls in the Roman convent, not including

2. *Ag*: + and there were many others with them.

Rhipsime, Gaiane and Nino [or Nunē, the Georgian apostle whom Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 86, also includes in the companions of Rhipsime along with Manē; *Aa* mentions neither Manē nor Nunē].

Greek Vg: 31. Those sent on this [quest] in their travels found pure and holy maidens living in a female monastery most virtuously according to the Christian faith. Their leader was Gaiane; she had in her care [one] called Rhipsime of very youthful age, the daughter of a Roman consul, and she had been brought up studying the divinely-inspired scriptures. This Rhipsime with the others had dedicated her virginity to Christ. Rhipsime was very graceful in form and surpassed all women in beauty. Their nourishment was seeds soaked in water.

Arabic Va: They came to Rome, and there arrived at a monastery where there were virgin women whose leader was called Gaiane. Their food was nothing but bread, save moistened pulses and herbs for all their days. All the time they offered prayers to our Lord Jesus Christ. Now there was in that monastery a virgin named Rhipsime, and she was descended from believing royalty.

Syriac Vs: 76. The messengers sought but did not find [anyone] except a young nun in a convent of women, who was called Rhipsime, the daughter of royalty. Her nurse [mrbynyta] was with her; she was called Gaiane.

§139. When they arrived, they entered by force into the holy dwelling[3] of these virtuous women; and seeing the modest beauty of Rhipsime, they were amazed and charmed at her wonderful appearance. They painted her likeness on their tablets and brought it to the emperor.

Arabic Va: 11. When the impious messengers and painters saw the beauty of the maiden, they were greatly astonished. They painted her likeness and beauty and sent it to the king.

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3. Holy dwelling: *Ag*, *mandra*, "fold," often of a monastery.

§140. Now when the emperor saw the graceful beauty of Rhipsime's portrait, he went mad with licentious desire.† The unbridled passion of his raving folly urged him to set a time for the marriage, and he was anxious rapidly to celebrate the joyful wedding. Then he urgently despatched envoys and messengers throughout his whole realm, so that everyone might bring gifts and presents to the grand wedding, and that all might come and joyfully celebrate the emperor's marriage according to royal custom.

† Licentious desire: Movsēs Xorenac'i, I 15, uses similar wording for Semiramis's passion for Ara.

Greek Vg: 32. When those sent by Caesar saw Rhipsime and had been amazed at her beauty, they went off and reported to the king. He was all prepared to take her in marriage. He urged all the magnates in his Senate to be ready for festivity such as accompanies royal weddings.

Arabic Va: When the king saw that picture, he was much amazed and sent men to bring her, so that he might marry her. And he ordered all his nobles and princes and magnates to be present at the wedding.

Syriac Vs: 79. When the messengers arrived and informed Diocletian about Rhipsime the nun, he greatly rejoiced and sent them to bring her. He prepared everything for the wedding feast with great joy.

§141. But when the virtuous women saw the hidden arrows of the enemy,* who is accustomed to shoot secretly at the saints who love Christ, they found that the emperor [had become] a vessel of evil.*† Just as in the garden he had used the snake as a vehicle† for causing the forgetting of the commandment, entering into the senseless ear of the first woman,[4]* so here too he had used the lawless emperor as a mask[5]† through which he could fight with the church built by God.

* Eph. 6.6. * Jer. 51.34. * Gen. ch. 3.

† Vessel of evil: as also in Ełišē, *History of Vardan*, 91, of his villain Vasak.

† Vehicle: *andruvar*, a pack animal; cf. Stone, "Satan and the Serpent," 146.

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4. As a vehicle … woman: *Ag*, as a servant.

5. Mask: *Ag*, shield.

† Mask: *vahanak eresac'*, which implies an armoured headpiece.

Greek Vg: 33. The report spread everywhere, even as far as the dwelling of the holy maidens.

Arabic Va: But when the holy ones saw the attack of the Enemy on them, and the weapons sharpened against them so he might wage war on them,

§142. The beguiling enemy aroused the king's vanity and arrogance so that he stirred up persecutions against the churches of God; he made him deranged so that he worshipped images of futile corpses,* vain gods[6] of gold and silver, wood, stone and bronze, and their impure cult. He was emboldened to attack the firm rock, the faith of the church.* But unable to harm the rock, he[7] was himself broken against the rock. Nonetheless, trusting in the arrogance of his folly, he was the cause of very great harm to the churches of God.

* Jer. 16.18. * Mt. 16.18.

† The Devil stirs up the king to fury and persecution: cf. the description of Yazkert in Ełišē, *History of Vardan*, 6.

§143. Then the blessed and chaste Gaiane, with the saintly Rhipsime and their other companions, remembered the covenant of holiness, the religious rule* of holy chastity into which they had entered, and lamented among themselves* over the impure and impious emperor's command to have their portraits painted. They fervently prayed, seeking help from the all-merciful Lord, that he would save them from the trial which had come upon them.* And in their supplication they prayed as follows:

* II Macc. 4.11, 6.23. * I Macc. 2.7. * Mt. 6.13.

Greek Vg: When Rhipsime and Gaiane realised the onslaught that was to befall them, and some kindred had informed them of Caesar's plan, she [sing.] prayed to be delivered from life and temporary glory, and to be preserved pure and uncorrupted for God. They all prayed, saying:

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6. Images ... gods: *Ag*, idols of corpses and hallucinations.

7. He: *Ag*, the unjust judge.

Arabic Va: they stood in prayer with lamentation and weeping, beseeching God to comfort and save them from trial. As with a single mouth they said:

§144. "Lord of lords, God of gods, God eternal, God of heaven, God of ineffable light, who established everything by your word, who made heaven and earth and all their order, who fashioned man [as] dust from the earth* and rendered him wise and made him increase over the earth,* and were helpful to those who hoped in you in each one's age,*

* Gen. 2.1, 7. * Gen. 1.28. * Ex. 15.2.

Greek Vg: "You, God who is all in all, salvation and hope, save us in your benevolence, so that being kept unblemished we may not be deprived of eternal life."

Arabic Va: 12. "Lord of lords and God of gods, you are king of ages and God of heaven, who created light by your word and heaven and earth and adorned them, who created man from dust and placed in him wisdom and nobility, and set him over all things; you are the power of those who trust in you.

§145. "Now help us too, Lord, in this struggle which oppresses us, that we may overcome the traps and deceits of Satan.* And let your name, Lord, be glorious, and the horn of your church be exalted,* that we too may become worthy to attain the dwelling-places of the kingdom of those who keep your commandments.[8]* And let there be no lack of oil for our lamps,* nor let the torches of the faith of our covenant of holiness be extinguished.* Let not the sad gloom of the night of destruction overshadow our shining paths. Let not our feet stumble from your luminous ways.* Let not the pupils of our eyes be blinded to the bright rays of your truth.* Let not the bird of death snatch away the seeds of the plant of life which your only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, sowed in us.* Let not the rebellious beast carry off the chastity of your holy flock. Let not the corrupting

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8. Of those ... commandments: *Ag*, *om*.

wolf prevail over the lambs of your flock.* Let not the enemy of our covenant[9] scatter the sheep of your holy apostolic church.*

* II Tim. 2.26. * Lk. 1.69, Psalms *passim.* * Jn. 14.2. * Mt. 25.8. * Lk. 12.35. * Ps. 16.5. * II Cor. 4.4. * Mt. 13.4. * Ez. ch. 34. * Jn. 10.12.

Arabic Va: Help us while we are in battle, and save us from this evil trial and from the snares of the demons, so that your name may be glorified and the horn of your church exalted, and we may be worthy to attain the harbour of your kingdom. 13. Let not the oil of our lamps fail, or the torch of our faith be extinguished. Let not the darkness of night overtake the light of our way, nor let us turn our feet away from the path of your light. Let us not be blinded in our eyes and become estranged from the moon of your true light. Let not the deadly eagle snatch away the seed which your Son, our only Lord Jesus Christ, sowed in us. Let not the rapacious beast sully the purity of your flock, or the thieving wolf prevail over your lambs or defile them, or scatter the sheep of your church.

§146. "Lord our God, who sent your only-begotten Son, who came and filled the whole world with your Spirit and wisdom in order to inscribe everyone with the name of Israel as 'seers of God.'† And we heard him say: 'Although they will persecute you from city to city,[10] you will not be able to exhaust the cities of Israel until my return there.'*

* Mt. 10.23.

† Israel, "seers of God." This is a popular etymology in patristic literature, though a different etymology was also proposed, derived from Gen. 32.28; see Lampe, s.v. *Israēl.* The Armenian etymologies attested in Wutz are "seeing God," or "the mind sees God" [p. 898], and "attention to God" [p. 974].

Arabic Va: You, O Lord God, sent your only Son for the salvation of the world; and when he came the world was filled with joy, and you named everyone Israel. We are those who kept your commandment that you

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9. Covenant: *Ag*, life.

10. Although ... city: *Ag*, If they persecute you from that city, flee to the other. Amen, I say to you.

enjoined: 'When they will persecute you from this city, flee to another; and the cities of Israel will not be exhausted until the Son of man comes.'

§147. "So have mercy, Lord, on us who have taken refuge in your holy name. Let us not be joined to the degradation of pagan filthiness. Permit not the chastity of our holiness to be a brothel for the licentiousness of those obscene dogs. Give not the pearl of the virginity of our faith to their impious and swinish ways.* Let not the torrent of the voracious floods of vain error and deceit* shake the foundations of your holy church, which was built with many righteous stones on the firm rock,* whose chief corner-stone was our Lord Jesus Christ* through his incarnation and by his death on the cross, the shedding of his blood,[11] his resurrection and ascension into heaven, his sitting on the right hand of your Godhead where he was before.

* Mt. 7.6. * Ps. 17.5. * Mt. 7.24, Lk.6.48. * 1 Pet. 2.6.

Arabic Va: Preserve, Lord, the souls of those who trust in you, lest the impious ones corrupt us. Do not permit our purity to be sullied by dogs, or the pearl of our virginity [to be corrupted] by men who are like pigs. 14. Let not the torrent of sin shake the foundation of your holy church, which was built with firm faith by your Apostles on the solid rock which became the chief corner-stone, our Lord Jesus Christ.

§148. "Now look down, Lord, from heaven, from your holiness,* lest we become like that house which was built on the sand and which was toppled by the buffetings of afflictions of various trials.* Confirm us in the truth of the gospel of peace,* and lead us according to your will; and make us worthy of the marriage of the evening light, when you will make the evening as bright as the day* at the dawning of the rays from the face of your glory. Preserve us under your wings,* that we may reach the haven of your will.* Give us to drink the cup of martyrdom, that we may receive the crown as reward on the day of the just judgment at the revelation of your glory."

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11. The shedding of his blood: *Ag, om.*

* Ps. 101.20, Baruch 2.16. * Mt. 7.26. * Eph. 6.15. * Ps. 138.12. * Psalms *passim*. * Ps. 106.30.

Arabic Va: So, Lord, look down from the heaven of your holiness, and confirm us in the truth of your gospel, and make us to walk according to your pleasure. May we have a share of your promise in the light of your wedding-chamber, and cover us with your wings. And when we have attained your approval, may we be worthy to drink the cup of martyrdom, and receive the crown of purity on the day of your coming in glory."

[The Nuns flee to Armenia]

§149. Then Gaiane, with her protegée Rhipsime and their group of chaste companions, decided to flee to a distant land[12] in order to preserve themselves in purity from those swinish, sin-stained, pernicious, impious and devilish men;[13] so that they might become worthy to attain the abundance of the hope of life and the light of resurrection, saved through the apostolic precepts from the everlasting future judgment, and gaining a place on the right-hand side;* to attain the promised blessings, adorned with unfading crowns with the five obedient virgins,* shining with deeds of virtue in the peace of the renewed splendour of paradise, with the divine bridegroom among the multitudes of the just, to become heirs of unfailing joys at Abraham's banquet.† As the Lord in the gospel said: "Who will leave his dwelling[14] for my name's sake, at my coming again I shall make him heir to eternal life."* Not as fleeing from this temporal death, but escaping from the terrible passion of impious desires; not to save their bodies from earthly torments and calumny, but to be able to preserve their souls in purity without contamination from the impious pollution and foul impurity of irreligious men. Because they had prepared their bodies for prison, bonds, punishment, death, and incredible afflictions for the sake of

12. To a distant land: *Ag, om.*

13. Those ... men: *Ag*, in that sin-loving country from its impious men.

14. Dwelling: *Ag*, everything.

the Lord's name,* so that they might become worthy to attain the crown of righteousness, therefore they left the land of their birth, their possessions and property and close relations and families for the sake of the divine commandment. They illumined their souls in angelic form by the virtue of their conduct,[15] so that they might be able to see God.

* Mt. 25.33. * Mt. 25.2. * Mt. 19.29, Mk. 10.29, Lk. 18.29. * Acts 9.16.

† Abraham's banquet. This combines the concept of the departed being with Abraham, as Mt. 8.11, or of Abraham's bosom as where the departed rest, as Lk. 16.22-3, with that of the messianic banquet. Cf. §56 above, and for patristic references Lampe, s.v. *Abraam.* A different concept of the banquet, as the occasion for the choice between salvation and damnation, is adumbrated in the *Teaching*, §510.

Greek Vg: 34. Having made many other prayers, they all escaped by night, and taking sail from the city of Rome, they crossed to the land of Phrygia.

Arabic Va: 15. When they had finished their prayer, the virgins took counsel—the blessed Rhipsime, their leader Gaiane, and the group of nuns—that they might preserve their virginity without stain.

Syriac Vs: 77. There were in that convent seventy-seven nuns, chaste and holy women. The messengers went to inform the king. But when the betrothed of Christ, the heavenly king, became aware of this, they all arose and fled to the land of Armenia.

§150. Then they arrived in the land of Armenia,† in the province of Ayrarat, in the city of Vałaršapat which is also called Nor K'ałak',† the residence of the Armenian kings. They entered the vat-stores[16]† of the vineyard which were constructed to the North-East, and they lived by their own money from the market in the city. They had no other source of income, save that one of them possessed the

15. They ... conduct: *Ag, om.*

16. Vat-stores: *Ag*, wine-presses.

skill of glassmaking and could make glass pearls,[17] which paid for their daily sustenance.†

† Note that in *Vg* the nuns sailed from Rome and crossed to the land of Phrygia, which implies crossing the Bosphorus; cf. §880, where Constantine and Trdat sail from Rome and reach the land of "Pontus." It is more likely that they sailed across the Propontis, i.e. the Sea of Marmara, and continued by land than that they sailed along the north coast of Asia Minor.

† Nor K'ałak'. See §21 above.

† Vat-stores: *hnjanayarks*, but "wine-presses, *lēnous*," in *Ag*. The term "wine-press" is often interpreted as a figure for the church [see Lampe, s.v. *lēnos*], or the Virgin Mary, e.g. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor, 178; cf. Thomson, "Architectural Symbolism," 114. *Hnjanayarks* implies the building[s] in which the presses were situated, cf. §161, *hnjaks šinacoc'*; but *hnjan* can be used alone with the same meaning, as in §166.

† Glassmaking was well known in Armenia; see Aṙak'elyan et al., *Hin Hayastani Apakin*, and Talbot, "Evidence about Byzantine Glass" [esp. for Basean].

Greek Vg: From there they came to the land of Armenia, to the region of Arayrat [sic], in which they remained, furnishing sustenance for themselves from their own efforts.

Arabic Va: Then they fled and came to the land of Armenia, to a place called Ayrarat. Before they entered the city, they came to a vineyard in which was a [wine-]press; and there they hid. Their food [was provided] by the work of their hands, and they sent for and earned food from the city by their own efforts.

Syriac Vs: 78. They divided into two [groups]. Forty of them went opposite Dvin and lived in a ruined wine-press, so that no one might recognise them. The others went to Avan, to the city of Bargari [?berd-ari, i.e. Arin-berd], and dwelt in a cave on the mountain.

§151. Meanwhile there was no little turmoil in the land of the Greeks.[18] Searchers went out and messengers were sent to every

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17. And ... pearls: *Ag*, *om*.

region, to see if they could find them anywhere. Then an emissary came to Trdat, ruler of Greater[19] Armenia, and met the king in the city of Vałaršapat. When he presented the edict,† he received it from his hand with joy. And the text of the edict ran as follows:

† Edict: *hrovartak*; see above, §125.

Greek Vg: 35. Caesar Diocletian, unaware of what had happened, dispatched his whole retinue to where Rhipsime had been. They went off, and not finding her returned empty-handed, and announced to the king their flight. Caesar Diocletian, in great distress and bewailing his thoughtlessness, in that he had not pressed the matter at the report of the messengers and their praise [of Rhipsime], did not realise that they had been preserved by divine providence, since they had dedicated themselves to God. 36. The king sent word to all regions to seek out Rhipsime, writing to the governors in every place that they should inflict punishment on the Christians. Eventually, learning of their departure to the land of Armenia, he sent ambassadors to king Tiridates with the following message:

Arabic Va: 16. At Rome there was a great disturbance on their account, both in the whole country of Rome and among other peoples. The king sent letters about the holy ones to Trdat, king of Armenia, with an emissary from king Diocletian. King Trdat joyfully received the letters, in which it was [written] as follows:

Syriac Vs: 80. When the messengers came and did not find her, nor a single one of the nuns, they were much distressed. They sought them out and learned that they had gone to Armenia. They came and informed the king, and he was very grieved.

§152. "The autocrator Caesar Diocletian to our beloved brother and colleague† Trdat, greetings.

† Colleague: *at'ořakic'*, lit. "sharing the throne," *synthronos* in *Ag*.

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18. Greeks: *Ag*, Romans.

19. Greater: *Ag*, *om*.

Greek Vg: 37. "The emperor Caesar Diocletian to Tiridates, king of Armenia, dear brother, greeting.

Arabic Va: "From Caesar Diocletian, almighty king, to my friend and brother Trdat, greetings from our kingdom.

Syriac Vs: 81. He wrote a letter to Trdat, saying to him after the greeting:

§153. "Let your fraternity, our comrade in arms, know of the evils that continually befall us from this erring sect of the Christians.† In everything our majesty is derided by their religion,† our rule is despised by them, and there is no respect among them. For they worship some dead and crucified man, and adore a cross, and worship the bones of those put to death, and they consider their own death on behalf of their God to be glory and honour. They have been condemned by our just laws because they embittered and angered our ancestors and royal forefathers. Our swords have been blunted, yet they have not feared death. They have gone astray after some crucified Jew, and they teach dishonour for kings and complete disrespect for the images of[20] the divine gods.

† For edicts against Christians, cf. Trdat's own edicts, §126-131, and §134-136 above, and the parallels in the notes.

† Their religion: *uxt*, lit. "covenant," an important theme in Ełišē's *History of Vardan*; see the Introduction to Thomson's translation, 10-12, for its meaning; and cf. §857 below for Trdat's compact with his people to observe the divine commandments. *Ag* renders by *synagogē*, stressing the communal aspect of Christianity. The theme of the covenant plays an important role in Gregory's vision; see §754 and the Introduction, 107.

Greek Vg: Let your Majesty know from our letters what has happened to us regarding the cult of those called Christians. For some man who was crucified by those called Jews ... and they call the dead one immortal, addressing him as Son of God, and they worship the wood on which he was stretched out. Furthermore, they revere the bones of those condemned to death by us and all our governors for their abominable religion.

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20. The images of: *Ag, om.*

Arabic Va: We inform you about everything that happened to us on account of the Christians, who worship a crucified man and adore a cross and venerate the bones of dead men, whereas the death they die for their religion they say is glory and honour for themselves, and they turn away from our religion. Our swords have been blunted by them, yet they do not fear death. By faith in a Jewish man they have gone astray. They revile those who govern the world, and vilify the great gods.

Syriac Vs: We have inflicted many evil things on the Christians, and our swords are weary of slaying them.

§154. "Similarly they regard as nought the power of the luminaries, the sun, moon, and stars, and hold them to be creatures of that crucified one. And they teach complete disrespect for the images of the divine gods,[21] and dissuade the whole world from the worship of the gods. They even separate during their lifetime women from their husbands and men from their wives.† Although we have inflicted on them all kinds of cruel punishments, their sect has become inflamed all the more, and has spread only wider. Although we have made countless terrible threats against them, at the shedding of their blood their sect has even more flourished and spread.

† Separation of husbands and wives. Cf. the attack on Christian celibacy in Ełišē, *History of Vardan*, 27: "If people were to listen to them and not approach their wives, the end of the world would soon arrive."

Greek Vg: 38. They reject our true religion, and when punished until our swords are blunted they take courage, and without fear willingly accept the sentences of death; and following certain teachers, they go astray. They dishonour our immortal gods, and belittle the power of the great luminaries, the sun and moon, alleging they are a creation of that crucified one called Christ. They have all turned away and become separated, children from parents, men from women, wives from husbands. They draw everyone to themselves.

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21. And they ... gods: *Ag, om.* It is a repetition of the last phrase in §153.

Arabic Va: The power of the great luminaries—the sun and moon and other stars—they altogether disregard, and say they are the creation of the crucified one. Rapidly they turn the inhabitants of the world away from the worship of the gods, and separate men from their wives and wives from their husbands. 17. Through their great endurance of cruel torture they have increased their great obstinacy and piety; and on account of the shedding of their blood they have increased their solidarity in their religion.

Syriac Vs: The earth is intoxicated with their blood, yet they continue to grow and multiply. Even those whom we have killed they hold in great honour, and they worship the God whom the Jews crucified.

§155. I chanced to see a young and beautiful girl among the following of their sect, and I wished to take her to wife. But of this too they were able to cheat me. Not only were they not happy with me as king, they did not even fear my severe threats. But because of their sect they regarded me even more as stained, impure and abominable, and with their governess they have fled to the regions of your kingdom.

Greek Vg: 39. Furthermore, a certain well-born girl, the daughter of a consul, saying farewell to her father joined that cult. But when I learned about her beauty, I decided on two things: that she should be joined to me in marriage, and that I would turn her away from that abominable cult. However, when she became aware of that, she ran off with her governess and others to the land of Your Fraternity.

Arabic Va: Now I found among them a girl of the people of their faith, a very beautiful one, and planned to marry her. But they dared to cause her to flee from my sight, nor did they respect my rule or fear my threats. But they reckoned me as nought, and compelled the young woman to flee with her companions; and they have arrived in your kingdom.

Syriac Vs: Now some of those who are called nuns, since our kingdom did not please them, have fled and gone to you. I saw among them a girl beautiful in appearance whose like does not exist in the whole world. 83. I had a great longing for her image.

§156. "So, my brother, be quick to find their traces, wherever they may be in your parts. Take vengeance of death on whoever may be with her and their governess, and send back to me that beautiful girl who was deceived.† But if her beauty pleases you, then keep her for yourself, for no one like her has ever been found in Greek lands. Be well by the worship of the gods with all honour."

† Deceived, *hrapureal*. Christians were often accused of "deceiving" or "seducing" their converts by using sorcery; see Lampe, s.v. *goēteia*. Conversely, Christians called the Devil "deceiver;" see Lampe, s.v. *apateōn*, and Armenian references in the *NBHL*, s.v. *hrapurič'*. See §182 for *anhrapoyr*, "who cannot be seduced or deceived," and §203 for the Christians as "bewitching, *kaxardasar*."

Greek Vg: When you find her, send her to us, O king, and kill the others. But if you become enamoured of Rhipsime, keep her with pleasure, for your well-being is dear to me. Be well, dearest brother and comrade in arms." 40. Tiridates wrote back to him as follows: "To the emperor Caesar king of the Romans, Diocletian, Tiridates king of Greater Armenia. From a young age I was brought up and educated among you, and being [now] within my hereditary kingdom I rejoice in the gods who saved our rule as well as those above me, and I abhor the so-called Christians. My dear friend Gregory, a certain Cappadocian who was trained in the precepts of the Christians, I tortured and handed over to a most cruel death by casting him into a pit, where the serpents that live there consume those imprisoned. So now, lord king, I shall carry out what you have commanded me promptly and zealously. Be well."

Arabic Va: So look and take care to seek them out; kill those with her, but the damsel send back to me. If, however, you desire her, take her for yourself; since I have not seen the like of her beauty in Roman territory. Peace to you."

Syriac Vs: Now command and seek her throughout your whole realm. And if you find her and she pleases you, take her. Otherwise, send her to me."

§157. When the letter with this edict was read, the king gave a most strict command that they should quickly search every place in his realm with care and diligence. Immediately he sent messengers

through every region, that wherever they might find them they should bring them immediately. And he promised to reward their finder with magnificent gifts.

Arabic Va: 18. When Trdat had read the king's letter, he rapidly ordered that maiden girl to be sought throughout his domain, and offered many gifts to the one who might bring her. Then there was a great disturbance in the land of Armenia on the maiden's account.

Syriac Vs: 84. So when the messenger arrived and Trdat had read the letter, he sent and sought her for seven days. But he did not find her, and was much distressed.

§158. While this careful search[22] was being conducted within the borders of Armenia, those holy martyrs had hidden themselves in the capital, in the same royal city of Vałaršapat. And after a few days of searching their whereabouts were soon discovered.

Greek Vg [§158, 161, 166]: 41. The messengers found them, and surrounding them they informed king Tiridates about the girl's exceeding [beauty of] form.

Arabic Va: But the holy ones, the flock of Christ, were hiding in the press near the city of Vałaršapat, and after a few days they were discovered.

Syriac Vs: However, a man who knew these holy ones came and informed Trdat.

§159. It was not right for the truth and virtue of the martyrs to remain hidden, nor for the light of [their] lamp to be hidden under a bushel or remain invisible under the shadow of a chair;[23] but on candlesticks ornamented with gold and with golden torches[24] one should kindle the glorious light,* the oil of sweet plenty of the

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22. Careful search: *Ag*, turmoil.

23. Or … chair: *Ag*, *om.*

24. And … torches: *Ag*, *om.*

righteous faith.† As they themselves had asked in their earlier prayer, and as the Lord said to his beloved: "They will see your good works, and will glorify your Father in heaven."*

* Mt. 5.15, Mk. 4.21, Lk. 8.16, 11.33. * Mt. 5.16.

† Oil, faith; see Lampe, s.v. *elaion*, for this figure.

Arabic Va: For it was not seemly that true treasure should be concealed, or the light of a lamp remain under a bushel; but rather the whole truth should show its light in the world, as the Lord had said to his disciples: 'Let your light so shine before men, that they see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven.'

§160. Do you see that[25] for the sake of good deeds the true Son of God does not disdain to give his inheritance to his own beloved servants?* He who is by nature Son boldly brings those who keep his commandments to his own nature.[26]† And if there be anyone who keeps his words, when he finds him he joyfully buys and treasures him like a precious pearl.* Then he receives the sign of honour, the royal crown,* and is brought into the kingdom. Just as the honour of that light shone out before the heathen of this land of Armenia, despite their will, so their glory filled the universe with fame for the Godhead.[27]

* Eph. 1.18, Heb. 9.15. * Mt. 13.46. * II Tim. 4.8.

† Christ brings the faithful to [share in] his nature [which is divinity]. This is an important theme in the *Teaching*, e.g. §385; cf. also Thomson, *Teaching II*, 24-25. Here *Ag* changes "nature" to "adoption," reflecting Gal. 4.5 and Eph. 1.5. For men becoming immortal cf. §238 below.

§161. So they were found in the vat-stores.[28] For when the order of the edict[29] from the great emperor of the Greeks came to Trdat, king

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25. Do you see that: *Ag*, *om*.

26. Nature: *Ag*, adoption.

27. Their ... Godhead: *Ag*: they filled the earth with the fame of God.

28. *Ag*: + outside the city.

29. Order of the edict: *Ag*, letter.

of Greater Armenia, there was no little turmoil in the land of Armenia. They guarded all the roads and paths in all the provinces. Scouts went out to search all parts.[30] And when someone saw them, he informed about them.

Arabic Va: 19. Someone looked in the press where they were, and went off and reported them.

§162. When their whereabouts became known, then for two days he had a legion of[31] infantry keep armed guard over the spot where they had been found.[32] After those two[33] days the report of the chastity and wonderful[34] beauty of Rhipsime became known to the public. And astonishment multiplied as word passed from man to man.[35]

Arabic Va: Then a squad came and kept guard over them for three days.

Syriac Vs: 85. He sent his army immediately, and ordered them to surround them so that they could not escape. They came and surrounded the wine-press, four armed rows. 86. Trdat ordered one of his servants: "See what is the beauty of the one in pursuit of whom the king of the Greeks had sent, saying: 'There does not exist her like in all creation'."

§163. To see her beauty a great and confused crown gathered—princes and nobles rushed to view her, competing with each other. Freemen and common people together jostled one another in the passion of their dissolute concupiscence and the debauched, polluted and heathen habits of their deranged minds.[36]

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30. Scouts ... parts: *Ag*, *om.*

31. A legion [*legeon*] of: *Ag*, *om.*

32. Over ... found: *Ag*, *om.*

33. Those two: *Ag*, three.

34. Chastity and wonderful: *Ag*, *om.*

35. And ... man: *Ag*, *om.*

36. *Ag* abbreviates this paragraph.

§164. But the blessed ones, when they realized the evil intentions of these senseless and depraved[37] men, with loud lamentations and tears raised their hands to heaven in prayer, to seek salvation from the almighty omnipotent Lord, who had rescued them the previous time from the impious, impure, wicked and licentious heathens;[38] [they begged] that he would give them victory and glorify their faith.[39] And covering their faces, they fell to the ground in shame at the impudent sightseers who had gathered to stare.

Arabic Va: But when the holy ones saw that the Devil's minions were guarding them, they knew that now a trial had befallen them. Raising their eyes to heaven, with much weeping and with hands extended to heaven, they lamented and besought him who had saved them from the previous trial.

§165. After this, many of the spectators who were friends of the king and had come out to see her beauty, informed the king and made him marvel. So on the next day, very early in the morning, a command was issued by the king that the blessed Rhipsime should be brought to court, while the holy Gaiane and the group of her chaste companions should be kept where they were.

Arabic Va: 20. After three days the news reached the king, and when it was light he ordered Gaiane to be guarded with all the nuns in that place.

Syriac Vs: 87. When the servant saw her, he was amazed at her beauty, and went and told king Trdat that there was no beauty like hers in all the kingdoms of the earth. 88. Then Trdat said to the messenger: "Go and tell Diocletian that I have not found her; and if I do find her, I shall send her to him."

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37. Senseless and depraved: *Ag*, *om*.

38 . Impure ... heathens: *Ag*, pollution.

39. And glorify their faith: *Ag*, *om*.

§166. Then straightway they sent a golden litter† with attendants from the palace to the door of the vat-store, where they had been dwelling outside the city. They also brought for her from the palace honourable raiment, beautiful, soft and shining, and fine jewellery for her to adorn herself, so that she might enter the city and meet the king in splendour and honour. For he had not yet seen her, but planned to take her to wife because of what they had told him about her wonderful beauty.

† Litter, *gahaworak*; *Ag* renders by *pastophorion*, which implies an enclosed space, often used of a bed-chamber or sacristy.

Greek Vg: The king ordered a crowd of magnates to go and bring her, also sending a golden chariot so that royal honour might be paid to her.

Arabic Va: He sent to the blessed Rhipsime horses from his palace and garments of great value, so that she could enter the city with much honour. And because he had heard about her great beauty, he planned to marry her.

Syriac Vs: 89. Trdat sent to Rhipsime splendid royal clothes and much gold for her to wear, and also horses that she might ride and come to him. He summoned all his nobles and the subjects of his kingdom, so that they might make merry with him at the wedding-feast. 90. He organised the music of singing and licentious dancing and of amusement of various kinds. Thousands and myriads of people gathered, and they slew each other in the disordered rejoicing.

§167. When the holy Gaiane saw this, she began to speak to her protegée as follows: "Remember, my child, that you have left and abandoned the honour and splendour of the golden throne of your fathers and the royal purple,† and have yearned for the unfading rays of the light of the kingdom of Christ, who is creator, vivifier and renewer,[40] and keeps the promised ineffable blessings for those who hope in him. You, my child, have despised the transitory purple of your own nature.[41] So why then will you give your holy chastity as

40. *Ag*: + of all.

41. Nature: *Ag*, ancestors.

food to dogs* in this barbarian land? Heaven forbid, my child, that this be so. But let us, with you, be received by him who has led us from our youth until today and to this very hour in which we find ourselves."

* Mt. 7.6.

† Purple: i.e. her royal ancestry; see §138 above with further references.

Greek Vg: 42. The leader Gaiane appealed to her with tears: "Do not trust in the glory of transitory things, my daughter. Bear in mind what is incorruptible and permanent. Remember the glory and wealth of your parents that you have disdained, dedicating your virginity to the living God. Keep yourself spotless for the only-begotten Son and our God."

Arabic Va: When the blessed Gaiane saw what was happening, she said to Rhipsime: "Remember, my daughter, that you have abandoned the inheritance of your father, and loved the true light of the king, our Lord Jesus Christ, who has promised ineffable blessings to his friends. Remember that you have despised your transitory kingdom, and have chosen the splendour of the heavenly king, our Lord Jesus Christ. Do not hand over the purity of your virginity to these dogs, these evil and impious ones. Do not defile, my daughter, your holy temple; let it become a temple for our Lord, who has taught us the way of truth from our childhood to this day in his praiseworthy kingdom."

§168. Now when the holy Rhipsime saw all this crowd of evil men[42] and heard her governess, she was armed as with the weapons of the Spirit* through the power of her Lord; for she had put on faith from the years of her youth like an armoured cuirass.* She cried out with a loud voice and stretched out her arms in the form of a cross.† And in a loud voice she began to speak as follows:

* Rom. 13.12. * I Thess. 5.8.

† Praying with arms outstretched; see Lampe, s.v. *stauros*, for this position.

Greek Vg: 43. When Rhipsime heard [that], she stretched out her holy hands in the form of a cross and prayed as follows:

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42. Of evil men: *Ag, om.*

Arabic Va: 21. When Rhipsime saw the turmoil which surrounded them, and heard the words of Gaiane, she was strengthened by the holy Spirit and the faith with which she was imbued since her childhood. Signing herself with the cross, she said:

Syriac Vs: 91. After that, when they brought the splendid gifts we have mentioned, the virgin of Christ did not wish to accept them, nor did she go with them. All the sisters were occupied in prayer and supplication to God, saying:

§169. "Lord God almighty, who fashioned your creatures through your only-begotten and beloved Son, and formed the order of the visible and invisible creatures through your holy Spirit; who brought everything from nothing into being,* and at your command move all visible and invisible powers[43] that are in heaven and earth, in the sea and on dry land. It is you, Lord, who drowned in the flooding waters the impious and impure men of the eighth generation,† and saved your beloved Noah who had kept the commandment of your word, and rescued him from the flood through the cross-like wood.*† You, who then worked salvation through the symbol of the cross, now work [the same] through the true cross on which you hung and shed your blood for the healing of our woes.

* II Macc. 7.28, Rom. 4.17. * Gen. ch. 6-8.

† Eighth generation: i.e. of Old Testament patriarchs; see the *Teaching*, §295.

† The comparison of the ark with the Cross, the one saving Noah the other mankind, is not common; it is not noted in Lampe, s.v. *kibōtos*, for example, where the patristic authors cited compare the ark and the church or the ark and the Virgin Mary. However, some early examples are noted by Daniélou, *Theology*, 277.

Greek Vg [§169-172]: "God of powers, who made everything with a single word, preserve us through the grace of your only-begotten Son. You who saved Daniel from the lions and the youths from the fiery furnace, save us from these impious men lest we become food for dogs. Shine your light upon us, so that being kept pure we may attain the

43 All ... powers: *Ag*, things.

splendid promise, and they may be darkened. May we receive strength to endure what they inflict, and may they be humbled, defeated by the power of the precious and life-giving Cross."

Arabic Va: "My Lord and my omnipotent God, who through your word caused to exist what was not, what is visible and what invisible, and by whose command the world subsists—you brought the flood in the eighth generation on impious and wicked men, and you saved your friend Noah in the ark, which is the figure of your cross.

Syriac Vs: 92. "God who delivered Noah from the flood, and preserved him in the ark, preserve also your maidservant from the flood of sin.

§170. "You who saved Abraham in the midst of the impious races of Canaanites, and who saved your handmaid Sarah from the stain of shameful outrage and death;[44]* who had mercy on your servant Isaac, and rescued your handmaid Rebecca from the impious Philistines;* do not deprive us of your support for the sake of your holy name. You taught, instructed, and gave your words to our mouths, so that thereby we might be saved from the snares of the enemy. And you said: 'My name has been called over you,'* and: 'You are the temple of my divinity.'* And you said: 'Make my name holy in your hearts.'* You taught us to ask you and say: 'Holy be your name'* over us.[45]† This we ask from you. Behold many evil men have gathered to sully your holy name which is upon us, and the temple of your name. Although we are weak and unworthy,[46] yet do you, Lord, save our souls from dishonourable scandal.

* Gen. ch. 20. * Gen. 26.7. * Gen. 48.16, Acts 15.17. * I Cor. 3.16, 6.19. * Mt. 6.9, Lk. 1.49, 11.2, I Pet. 3.15. * Mt. 6.9, Lk.11.2.

† Over us, omitted in *Ag.* Although this could mean "on our behalf," it is probably a scribal mistake, a repetition of the phrase after "your holy name" which follows.

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44. And death: *Ag, om.*

45. Over us: *Ag, om.*

46. Unworthy: *Ag,* humble.

Arabic Va: You freed Abraham in the midst of the impious men of Canaan, and saved your maidservant Sarah in her purity from the draught of death. You had mercy on your servant Isaac; you rescued your handmaid Rebecca from the Philistines. Now preserve us in the right faith in you, and do not hand us over, Lord, for the sake of your name that you taught us and your word that you entrusted to our mouths, so that you might save us from the snares of the Enemy. You put your name upon us, and made us temples for your divinity. And you said that your holy name will be blessed in our hearts, and your law [nāmūs] will be confirmed in our minds. Behold, evil men have gathered to sully your holy name that has been imprinted on us, and to soil the temple of your holiness. We are weak and unworthy. Do you preserve our souls from the corruption of evil men through the profusion of your mercy.

Syriac Vs: 93. God who saved Sarah, wife of Abraham, from the hands of Pharaoh and Abimelek, save now your maidservant and betrothed from the hands of these wicked and godless men. 94. God who preserved the youths of the house of Anania from the fire of the furnace, and sent an angel to their aid, preserve now also your handmaids who worship your name and are persecuted for your sake. Send your angel to our aid, and drive away the army that encircles us like the flame of the Babylonians.

§171. "Benevolent and sweet one,[47] who cast us into this trial, grant us victory through your power; for yours is victory* and your name will conquer. Keep us in hope and chastity, that thereby we may enter the allotted number† of your just ones,* and that we may receive the rewards of our labours, which you will give in compensation to each one of those who stand in fear of you[48] and keep your commandments.*

* I Chr. 29.11. * Col. 1.12. * I Cor. 3.8.

† Allotted number, *t'iw vičakac'*. *Vičak* means "allotment or inheritance," a common biblical theme; see Lampe, s.v. *klēronomia*. But the number may refer to the 144,000 elect of Revelation 7.4, 14.1, 3. [Although the Book of Revelation as such had no canonical authority and was not well known in

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47. Sweet one: *Ag*, Saviour.

48. In fear of you: *Ag*, in your covenant, *diathēkē*.

Armenia before the thirteenth century, themes from it had long circulated in theological writings.] Nersēs of Lambron explains that this number is not the limit of the inhabitants of heaven, but only those who were martyred by the false Christ; see his *Commentary on Revelation* to XIV 3b.

Arabic Va: O Saviour and lover of man, give us victory so that through your holy name we may overcome the trial which surrounds us. And preserve the purity of our virginity, so that when we come to the court of your holiness we may receive the reward with which will be compensated whoever have accepted your fear and kept your commandments.

§172. "You who saved Noah from the watery flood, save us from the flood of impieties that surrounds us. For if you saved the beasts and animals in the ark, how much the more will you care for your images, we who glorify you?[49]† While if you cared for the reptiles and birds, how much the more will you care for us, whom you have called the temple of your will?"[50]

† Men glorify their Creator in whose image they were made; cf. the *Teaching*, §261, 264.

Arabic Va: You, Lord, who saved Noah from the flood, save us also from those who have no law and from the flood that engulfs us. You who preserved the beasts and animals in the ark, and the birds and snakes, preserve all the more your image that glorifies and worships you in purity."

§173. After this the press of the crowd increased, there being many royal servants who had come to bring her to court, and princes and nobles who had come to pay homage and honour her and escort her to court, in order to marry her to king Trdat[51] and make her queen of Armenia.

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49. You: *Ag*, the only glorious one.

50. While ... will: *Ag*, *om*.

51. Trdat: *Ag*, *om*.

Greek Vg: 44. While Rhipsime was saying this prayer, behold the crowd of magnates with the royal purple [robes] and the golden chariot [arrived].

Arabic Va: 23. When she had finished her prayer, the princes and nobles surrounded them, intending to lead her in honour to the king so that he could marry her.

§174. But [the maidens] raised their hands to heaven with tearful and piteous cries, begging the benevolent Lord to save them from the impurity of this lawless and unworthy marriage. Raising a lament, they loudly wept and said: "Heaven forbid that riches should deceive us, or luxury charm us, or kingdoms allure us, or torments oppress us, or torture and persecution imperil us, even if in myriad ways they torment us. Will we really fear the terrible death which you are about to bring upon us? Heaven forbid that we exchange for this transitory life the eternal life that passes not away. Heaven forbid that we deny the God 'who is,'* the creator of all, whose authority is established by his essence,† whose blessings are all immutable and pass not away.[52] Neither depths nor heights, neither tribulations nor torments, neither bonds nor tortures, not fire nor water nor sword, neither pleasure nor deceit, neither riches nor poverty, neither that world nor this world—no one can separate us from the love of Christ.* For to him we have dedicated our virginity, to him we have commended our purity, for him we wait, and his love we await with longing until we stand before his praiseworthy glory without shame or timidity."

* Ex. 3.14. * Rom. 8.38-39.

† God, who is, *or ēn*, as Ex. 3.14; see the *Teaching*, §377-378. Essence: *ēut'iwn*; for such terminology see the Introduction to Thomson, *Teaching II*, 15-19.

Arabic Va: On seeing the army that surrounded them, the holy ones raised their hands and with tears cried to heaven, requesting salvation from God who controls everything, that he might free them from the

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52. For this ... away: *Ag*: for transitory things eternal things, and the immortal life whose reign does not pass away, and the inexhaustible blessings.

corruption of the enemy. Crying out and weeping they said: "May we have no desire, Lord, nor let our hearts be seduced for transitory riches. Let us have no love for their charms, the delights of food. Let us not hesitate through fear of him and the persecution and torment that [he inflicts] on us. Even if he tortures us a thousand times, let us not fear him or exchange eternal life and ineffable blessings for this transient and contemptible life. Neither depth nor height, neither force nor torment, neither blow nor threats, neither promise nor various tortures, neither fire nor water, neither sword nor riches, nor wealth of possessions, neither present nor future, neither life nor death will be able to separate us from the love of our Lord Jesus Christ. For we have preserved our virginity and purity for him, and in him we hope and his love we desire, so that with thanks and praise we may stand before him."

§175. Then there occurred a fearfully loud thundering from heaven which terrified the whole throng, and a voice which said to them: "Be strong,* stand firm,[53]* be of good cheer,* because I am with you,* and I have preserved you in all your journeys and led you safely in purity, and have brought you to this place, so that here my name might be glorified before the heathens of the Northern regions.† Especially you, Rhipsime, who according to your name were truly 'thrown' from death to life with Gaiane and your friends.† Do not fear; but you will come to that place which my Father and I have prepared[54] for you,* the place of inscrutable joy, for you and for those who will be like you."

* I Cor. 16.13. * Gal. 5.1. * Mt. 14.27, Mk. 6.50. * Mt. 28.20. * Jn. 14.2-3.

† Northern regions, a common expression for Armenia in Armenian texts; see §741-742 below, Koriwn, 64, Ełišē, *History of Vardan*, 72, Movsēs Xorenac'i, I 10, 17, and III 68.

† Rhipsime: for the name see above, note to §138. The etymology from the passive participle of the Greek verb "to throw, *ripto*," *ripsamenē*, is fanciful. Mahé, "Hṙip'simē," notes that a form *ῥίψιμος would be required, meaning "who should be thrown," on the model of φύξιμος. But in a metaphorical sense the concept is viable. Mahé adduces early parallels to

53. Stand firm: *Ag*, *om*.

54. My Father ... prepared: *Ag*, which has been prepared.

the idea of being thrown "from death to life" in apocryphal and hermetic texts, where it refers to transition from birth below, which is a spiritual death, to the true life in heaven through martyrdom.

Greek Vg: When Rhipsime refused [to go], there was thunder, with the result that many royal [servants] died. And a voice spoke from the thunder: "Be strong, I am with you." These things were made known to the king, and what the thunder had caused and that she did not wish to go to the king.

Arabic Va: 24. When they had finished their prayer, they heard a loud thundering from heaven, so that all the crowds were terrified and fell on their faces. And they heard a voice from heaven saying: "Be strong and stand firm, for I am with you, I who protected you and brought you in your purity to this region so that my name might be glorified in the midst of this people. Rejoice and fear not. Indeed, you will come to the place of joy and jubilation which I have prepared for you and for all who love my name."

Syriac Vs: 96. Immediately a light came upon them, and a voice came to them saying: "I have heard your prayer. And just as I saved you from Diocletian, so also I shall save you from this one."

§176. And thus it thundered for a long time until the people were benumbed by fear, and many horses took fright and started, throwing many of their riders and trampling and killing many under foot. The people rushed about, crushing each other and trampling many to death. Many were killed, and there was a great sound of shouting and wailing.[55] Terrible trouble and fear came over the people, and many died,[56] and the blood of many watered the earth. When this confusion occurred in the great press of the crowd, some of the noble servants of the court ran to tell the king all their

55. The people ... wailing: *Ag abbreviates.*

56. And many died: *Ag, om.*

words,[57] because there were there secretaries who wrote down all that was said,† and they read it before the king.[58]

† Secretaries: *nšanagirk'*, see note to §99 above.

Arabic Va: The thundering lasted for a long time. Now the leaders and princes who had come for the virgins heard this and fell from their horses, and their horses trampled them and they were like dead men. Out of fear men slew each other and their blood was spilled. But those who survived preserved whatever happened and the prayers that the virgins had spoken, and they went away and informed the king.

Syriac Vs: 97. Immediately the earth shook with a quake, and the insolent men who were guarding them fell from their horses and were thrown into terror and great trembling.

§177. The king said: "Because she did not wish to come willingly[59] in honour and pomp, let them bring her forcibly to my palace and lead her to the royal chamber."

Greek Vg: Then he ordered her to be brought against her will.

Arabic Va: When the king heard these things he was very angry and said: "Since she does not wish to come in honour, bring her in disgrace."

Syriac Vs: 98. The messengers who had brought the presents, which the handmaid of Christ had not accepted, went and informed Trdat. He ordered that she should come in disgrace, in that she had not agreed to come in honour.

§178. So the servants took the holy Rhipsime by force,[60] now lifting her, now dragging her. And she cried out and said: "Lord

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57. *Ag*: + and what had happened.

58. Because ... king: *Ag*, *om.*

59. Willingly: *Ag*, *om.*

60. By force: *Ag*, *om.*

Jesus Christ, help me." The whole crowd followed her, making the earth loudly shake from their great numbers. They brought her to the king's palace and led her to the royal chamber. But when they had shut her in the chamber, she began to beseech the Lord, saying:

Greek Vg: And seizing her, he drew her into his bed-chamber. He strove to make her lie on the bed by force.

Greek Vo: 76. So taking the holy Rhipsime, sometimes dragging sometimes carrying her, his servants took her off. She shouted out, saying: "Lord Jesus Christ, help me." The whole crowd followed like a river, and from their multitude they trampled on each other. They brought her with great speed to the palace and locked her in the bedchamber. The holy one began to call on God and speak as follows:

Arabic Va: 25. Then the messengers went and seized the blessed Rhipsime, forcibly dragging her they brought her to him. She cried out in a loud voice, saying: "My Lord Jesus Christ, help your maidservant." They rapidly brought her to the palace and led her to his chamber. But the blessed one invoked God and said:

Syriac Vs: 99. Then they seized† her and brought her to Trdat's palace.
† Emending *gzw* to *grw*. *Vk* reads *jrw*.

§179. "Lord of hosts, you are the true God. You it was who parted the Red Sea and brought your people across.* You it was who turned the sterile rock into streams of fertile waters and gave drink to your thirsty people.* You it was who brought down your servant Jonah to the unfathomable depths of the sea and made him experience your power; you cast him out from our human state and brought him back again to life whole and unharmed without alteration, for not one hair of his head was touched.* You are the true God[61] who saved Daniel, thrown as food to wild beasts, from their fearful teeth, and rendered him who had been defamed glorious in the sight of his tormentors.* You also saved alive and

61. Are the true God who: *Ag*, *om*.

unharmed by fire the three youths who had been thrown into the furnace because they worshipped you,[62]* for they glorified you and had seen your wonders. You made the fierce and lawless Babylonian king pasture on grass, because he did not consent to glorify you for the wonders that you had shown him; you changed him into the form of animals and made his habitat with the beasts of the desert and his pasturage with wild asses.* You twice saved your handmaid Susanna, delivering her from a double death, and destroyed her lawless enemies with an opprobrious death,* and graciously set a glorious crown of righteousness[63] on her who[64] hoped in you. 'You are the same, and your years do not pass.'* 'You, Lord, do not give your glory to another.'* You are the one glorified over the whole world.* Let not the heathen profane you holy name.* You are able to save me from this profanation, so that I may die in purity for your great name."

* Ex. ch. 14. * Ex. 17.6. * Acts 27.34. * Dan. ch. 6. * Dan. ch. 3. * Dan. 5.21. * Sus. * Ps. 101.28, Heb. 1.12. * Is. 42.8, 48.11. * Dan. 3.45. * Ez. 36.20.

Greek Vg: 45. But she, calling on the true God, was prepared for battle.

Greek Vo: "Lord of powers, the true God, who divided the Red Sea and brought your people through it; who changed the barren and dry rock into a source of springs of water and gave drink to thirsty people; who drew you servant Jonah to the depths of the heart of the sea and kept him alive and sound in order to make known your power; who saved Daniel from the teeth of fearsome lions, and showed the condemned one honourable before his enemies; who preserved the three youths cast into the furnace sound and unscathed from the flame because of their reverence for you; who changed the bold and lawless king of Babylon into the nature of a beast, ordering him to wander in the desert with wild animals and eat grass like an ox, because although he saw your wonders, he did not wish to praise you as true God; who saved your servant Susanna from a double death, and destroyed her impious enemies; who

62. Who ... you: *Ag, om.*

63. Righteousness: *Ag*, boasting.

64. Her who: *Ag*, those who.

adorned her who hoped in you with a crown of chastity—now you are the same and your years do not fail, nor have you given your glory to another, for you are the one praised in the whole world—let not the pagans profane your name, because you alone are able to preserve me untouched and undefiled, and to make me worthy to be martyred [lit. perfected] without blemish and die for the sake of your holy name."

Arabic Va: "O my powerful Lord and true God, you who divided the Red Sea and saved your people. You made water flow from a sterile hard rock, and gave drink to a thirsty people. You brought your servant Jonah down to the depths of the sea, and preserved him without harm so that he might recognise your power. You saved Daniel from the mouths of wild lions, and you rendered him honourable before his enemies who had intrigued against him. You were with the three youths in the fiery furnace; for their love of your service you preserved them without harm from the heat of the fire. You turned the proud and lawless king of Babylon into the likeness of wild animals, and he began to go around in the desert with the beasts; and you ordered him to eat grass like oxen, because he saw your wonders but did not wish to glorify the true God. You saved your handmaid Susanna from a double death, and destroyed her lawless enemies; and because of her trust in you, you adorned her with a crown of chastity. Indeed you are the same, Lord, and your age does not pass away, nor do you give your glory to another. You are the one praised in the ends of the world. Let not those heathens profane your name, because you are the one who can save me. Let not anyone touch me or stain me; make me worthy, and keep me in purity for your holy name's sake, and let me die."

Syriac Vs: 95. "Just as you saved Daniel in the pit of lions, likewise save us too. Just as Nebuchadnezzar was changed from human form and became a beast, until he came to his senses and recognised that you alone are God, do the same also to this tyrant and pagan, so that he may not boast over your servants, and may recognise that you alone are the true God."

§180. While the holy Rhipsime was offering all these prayers to God, king Trdat entered the chamber where she had been shut up. Now when he came in, all the populace, some outside the palace, others in the streets inside [the city], all together began singing,*

clapping and dancing.† Some filled the citadel, others the centre of the city, with songs and merry-making. They all intended to celebrate the wedding with dancing. But the Lord God looked down on his beloved Rhipsime in order to save her, lest the treasure she had preserved so carefully be lost,* and he heard her prayers and fortified her like Jael and like Deborah.* He gave her strength so that she might be saved from the impious tyrant's grasp.

* III Macc. 6.23. * II Tim. 1.12. * Judges ch. 4.

† Singing, clapping and dancing: *ergs aṙeal barbaṙec'an kayt'iwk' vazelov c'uc' barjeal.* There is similar wording in Movsēs Xorenac'i, I 6, of the singing of ancient tales and ballads.

Greek Vo: 77. While she was making this prayer, the king came to her in the bed-chamber. When the crowds learned of this, they began to dance throughout the palace and in the squares and the whole city, with flutes and lyres and stringed instruments as for royal weddings. The Lord heard the voice of her request and looked to save her, lest the purity of her virginity be destroyed; and he strengthened her like Jael and Deborah and Esther, so she would be protected from the tyrant's corruption.

Arabic Va: 26. When she had finished this prayer, the king went to his bed-chamber, and they brought her in to him. The people who were in the palace and the market gathered, playing with lutes, mandolins [ṭanābīr], stringed instruments, and cymbals, and with all sorts of instruments, to celebrate the king's wedding. But the Lord, who had heard the voice of her prayer, looked down to save her lest the purity of her virginity be destroyed. And he strengthened her like Jael and like Rebecca and like Esther, in order to save her from the wickedness of the impious.

Syriac Vs: They were singing, as were the rest of them, diverting themselves and rejoicing and making merry, as if in order to view the bride. When Trdat saw her, he was amazed at her beauty, and made her promises if she would become ruler in his kingdom. 100. The holy Rhipsime, young handmaid of Christ, responded and said to him: "I worship the king Christ, and to him I am betrothed. To your flattery and promises I do not submit at all; and from my God who made heaven and earth I shall not turn."

§181. When the king entered, he seized her in order to work his lustful desires. But she, strengthened by the holy Spirit, struggled like a beast[65] and fought like a man. They fought from the third hour until the tenth, and she vanquished the king who was renowned for his incredible strength. While he was in the Greek empire he had shown such bodily strength that he had amazed everyone; and in his own realm, when he had returned to[66] his native land, he had shown there too many deeds of mighty valour.† So he, who was so famous in every respect, now was vanquished and worsted by a single girl through the will and power of Christ.

† For Trdat's deeds of valour see §42-45, 123, 202.

Greek Vg: She tore his purple robe and threw Tiridates to the ground. He who had prevailed in many battles and wars was defeated by a woman. But the holy one remained safe and sound and unconquered.

Greek Vo: Entering to her, the king seized her in order to fulfil his desire. But the holy Rhipsime, empowered by the holy Spirit, began to resist the king from the third hour until the tenth, and prevailed against him as if he were bound by the power of Christ. For the one who was exceedingly powerful in war, had subdued all nations to himself, and had strangled both a lion and a bear in his own arms, one could see overcome by a single maiden through the power of Christ.

Arabic Va: As the king approached her to work his lust, the holy Rhipsime was strengthened by the holy Spirit, and she was wrestling with the king from the third hour until the tenth hour; and she vanquished him through the power of Christ as if [he were] bound. He who was renowned in battle, who had taken captive all peoples and subjected them, who had torn to pieces a lion and a bear with his own hands—him you see beaten by a young girl through the power of Christ.

Syriac Vs: 101. After he had coaxed her a great deal, though she did not heed him, he laid hands on her. But the maidservant of God, with his

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65. Struggled like a beast: *Ag*, *om*.

66. Returned to: *Ag*, retaken.

strength that dwelt in her, threw him against the wall and tore his clothes. 102. Although he tormented the holy one from dawn until the ninth hour, his strength did not prevail. At the hour of nine o'clock he went out to eat bread and to rest. 103. Then the blessed one prayed in her suffering, and supplicated God to save her from him, like a sparrow from the snare of the hunter.

§182. When he had been defeated and was exhausted and discouraged, he went out and had the blessed Gaiane brought in and a rope put around her neck, and he had her placed by the door of the chamber. He himself then entered, and prompted his servants to force the intractable[67]† Gaiane to say through the door into the room to Rhipsime: "Do his will, and you and we shall live."

† Intractable: *anhrapoyr*, "who cannot be seduced or deceived;" see above, note to §156.

Greek Vg: 46. Tiridates ordered Gaiane to be brought, so that by her urging she might be persuaded to submit to the king.

Greek Vo: 78. On coming out after his defeat he ordered the holy Gaiane to be brought bound with chains round her neck, and to stand by the door of the chamber in order to force her to submit to his wishes.

Arabic Va: And he, defeated by her, went out. 27. Then he ordered the blessed Gaiane to be brought to him bound by a chain, and to be placed at the door of his chamber so that she could humour her so she [Rhipsime] would obey his wishes.

Syriac Vs: 104. Trdat summoned her guardian Gaiane and said to her: "I am asking you to tell her to submit to my majesty, and not to show herself in opposition to us. I shall raise her to great honour, and even make her queen, and on you I shall multiply much honour." Gaiane responded and said to him: "I shall tell her those things, and even more than them."

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67. The intractable: *Ag, om.*

§183. She agreed to speak with her protegée, and coming close spoke through the door into the room to Rhipsime: "My child, may Christ save you from this profanation, and may he be your support. Heaven forbid, my child, that you lose the inheritance of the life of[68] God and inherit transitory life, which is nothing; it is here today and is lost tomorrow."*

* Mt. 6.30.

Greek Vg: When she came she spoke in the Roman tongue, thinking the king was ignorant of it; "Daughter, remember how I instructed you in the holy scriptures. Take thought of the things that are in the present and now perish. Remember the immortal glory and the honourable crowns [prepared] for those who keep themselves pure."

Greek Vo: She was brought, and filled with the holy Spirit she stood by the door and said to Rhipsime in the Roman language: "May God preserve you unblemished, my child, and save you from all contamination. May he be power and strength for you so that you are not estranged from his inheritance."

Arabic Va: But when she was present, filled with the holy Spirit she stood at the door of the chamber in front of the bed, and speaking in the Roman tongue addressed her: "Rhipsime, my daughter, may Christ preserve your purity and save you from all pollution. And may he give you the power and strength not to reject his inheritance."

Syriac Vs: 105. Then Gaiane spoke to Rhipsime in Greek: "See, my daughter, for whom you have promised to keep your virginity. [Is it] not for the king, Christ, who is not corrupted, whose kingdom does not pass away or come to an end? 106. He who confers death and life, who rewards everyone according to his deeds--those who did his will and walked in his paths, and were persecuted for his sake, and endured tortures and tribulations on his behalf. 107. [To these] he will give rest and joy and delight in his heavenly kingdom that is eternal, making them heirs to what ear has not heard nor the eye of the body has seen, and has

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68. The life of: *Ag*, *om*.

not entered the heart of a man. 108. But those who abandoned him and followed their own evil desires, and loved temporal life and the world that passes, and pleasures that pass away and joys that end, he torments in inextinguishable Gehenna, in darkness where there is no brightness, and the undying worm,* with Satan whom they heeded. 109. See, my daughter, that you do not love evil things instead of good, or darkness instead of light, or Satan instead of Christ to whom you have been betrothed."*

* *Vs* 107: * I Cor. 2.9. *Vs* 108: * Mk. 9.44, 46, 48.

§184. When they realised what advice she was offering, they brought stones and struck her mouth until her teeth were knocked out, and they tried to force her to tell [Rhipsime] that she should do the will of the king.

Greek Vo: When they realised that she was advising her to remain in the same faith, they began to hit her mouth with stones until they knocked out her teeth, forcing her to persuade the maiden to submit to the king's will.

Arabic Va: When they realised that she was urging firmness in the faith on her, they took stones and struck her mouth so that her teeth were knocked out; and they brought force to bear so that she would order her to satisfy the king's passion.

Syriac Vs: 110. Now there was there someone who knew how to speak Greek, and when he heard these [words] he told them to the king. He hit her with stones and ordered them to strike and break Gaiane's teeth.

§185. But she persisted all the more and said: "Be of good cheer,* stand firm,* and now you will see Christ for whom you long. Remember, my child, the spiritual upbringing in which I raised you. Remember the divine instruction with which I nourished you. Remember your and my persecutions together. Remember the cup of death[69] which we have to drink together.* Remember the resurrection of the whole world. Remember the reproach of the rich

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69. Of death: *Ag*, immortal.

man.[70]* Remember the fire of the torments of eternal hell.* Remember the incorruptible rewards of the just[71] which he has also prepared for us.[72]* Remember the divine voice from heaven[73] which you yourself heard with your own ears today,† which encouraged and strengthened you and us also; the same will also make [you] worthy of the crown and of the repose which it promised. And it will strengthen you and us, so that we may dwell in[74] God's eternal habitations of light.*

* Mt. 9.22. * Gal. 5.1. * Mt. 26.39. * Lk. 6.24. * Mk. 10.42. * Lk. 14.14. * Lk. 16.9.

† Voice from heaven: see §175.

Greek Vo: But she persisted all the more in advising her, saying: "Fight bravely and hold out, my child, for soon you will see Christ whom you desired. Remember that I raised you by the power of the holy Spirit; remember my counsels that I urged on you regarding piety and faith in God; remember the persecutions which we have jointly endured; remember the cup of death which we must drink with one accord; remember the general resurrection; remember the day when all will be revealed; remember the eternal fire of Gehenna; remember the incorruptible gifts prepared for those who preserve purity and chastity unsullied. 79. Remember the divine voice from heaven which today strengthened you as well as us, how he will make us worthy of the crown and of the repose which he promised to give to those who love him, and he will enable you, with us too, to dwell in the tents of God's eternal light.

Arabic Va: But she strengthened her all the more, and said: "Be strong and stand firm...my daughter. Now you will see Christ whom you have loved. Remember that I brought you up on the nourishment of the holy

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70. *Ag*: + in Hades.

71. Rewards of the just: *Ag*, blessings.

72. *Ag*: + if we endure; cf. II Tim. 2.10.

73. From heaven: *Ag*, *om*.

74. Dwell in: *Ag*, become temples of; cf. I Cor. 3.16.

Spirit; remember the precept which I enjoined on you to keep your faith in Christ with purity. Remember the persecution they inflicted on us and which we endured. Remember the cup of death which must be drunk. Remember the resurrection of the whole world; remember that day on which mysteries will be revealed; remember the river of fire which cannot be extinguished. Remember the gifts that do not perish, which have been prepared for the one who preserves purity and chastity. 28. Remember the voice that you heard from heaven, which today has strengthened you and us so that we may become worthy of the crown and the rest that he has prepared for his friends; may he aid you and us so that we shall dwell for ever in the habitations of God's light.

§186. "May our Lord and King and God, who for our sake was humbled to disgrace,* not leave us despised,* because we desired his powers.[75] May the Saviour of the world help us, who did not just[76] abandon us who hoped in him, but considered us worthy of the encouragement of his words. For he is the Lord who glorifies the despised,[77]† and may he keep us his handmaidens from all sin, as we heard today. His almighty right hand has preserved us, and will preserve us for eternity. Only let us not be deprived of his love.* But may he arouse his hosts and come and rescue us;* and we shall invoke the name of the Lord.* Let him reveal his face to us, and we shall live;* for he is God our Saviour, and for his sake we shall endure[78] continuously.*†

* Phil. 2.8. * I Cor. 4.10. * Rom. 8.35, 39. * Ps. 79.3-4. * Ps. 79.19. * Num. 6.25, Ps. 79. 20. * Ps. 24.5, 43.22.

† Who glorifies the despised, *anargamecar.* Not a biblical term; it is used of Christ in Koriwn, 30. *Ag* changes it to reflect Lk. 1.52.

† Continuously: *zawrhanapaz*, a common term in the Psalms. *Ag* has taken it with reference to Ps. 43.22, changing the sense.

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75. His powers: *Ag*, him.

76. Just, *ěnd vayr*, in vain, *or* just now: *Ag*, just now.

77. Who … despised: *Ag*, of the humble.

78. Endure: *Ag*, die.

Greek Vo: Our Lord and king Jesus Christ, who for our sake humbled himself and accepted our dishonour, will not abandon us, because we longed for him. He will help us as redeemer, and make us worthy to hear the sound of his words; and he will preserve us his maid-servants from every pollution and every corruption—just as today we know that he saved you by his strong hand, and he will save us for ever. But let us not separate ourselves from his love, so that he may raise up his authority and come to save us. Let us call upon his name, and he will make his face shine on us and save us, because he is God and our Father, and through him we have endured all these things.

Arabic Va: May our Lord Jesus Christ the king make your and our life smooth—he who humbled himself and accepted degradation for our sake; may he not abandon us, because we have loved him...as Saviour. And may he reckon us worthy to hear the sound of his words, and save us from all contamination and corruption, as we have realised today; for with his strong right hand he has protected you, and he will save us for ever. But we shall not be separated from his love, so that his power will save us, and his face appear to us and preserve us, because he is our God and our Lord, and for his sake we endure all these things.

§187. "Remember the Lord who was humbled in order to raise us up, and who shed his own blood on the cross;[79] for our lives and salvation he was wounded[80] to death.† Recall him and invoke him in your heart. Behold, he has come to help you, and will strengthen your arms like those of the young David against bears and lions, who struck and broke them like kids.* Similarly, he who destroyed the ignoble giant through his servant David,* the same[81] will break this evil impiety before you.

* I Kingdoms 17.34. * I Kingdoms 17.50.

† Was wounded: *viraworec'aw*. Although *ABDZ* and *Ag* read "was handed over, *varec'aw*," which is a common phrase, a corruption from the latter to the former is less likely; so I retain the *lectio difficilior*.

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79. On the cross: *Ag*, *om.*

80. Wounded: *Ag*, handed over.

81. Who ... the same: *Ag*, *om.*

Greek Vo: Remember the Lord who humbled himself in order to raise us up, who shed his own blood for man's salvation, and who suffered wounding in order to save us. So bearing him in mind, call to him from your whole heart. For behold, he comes to your aid and will strengthen your arms like David his child, who strangled the lion and the bear like a kid of goats, and who trampled the giant Goliath; he will preserve you too. The worst evil of the tyrant he will crush.

Arabic Va: Remember the Lord who humbled himself in order to raise us up, and he shed his blood for the salvation of the sons of men, and for our salvation he permitted his face to be struck. May he now be in your mind, and hasten to him with all your heart and soul; for he will come to save you and strengthen your own arm like that of David his servant, who slew a lion and a bear like a kid. He will save you from ... impious ... Without shame we shall stand before him."

Syriac Vs: 111. Again Gaiane spoke to the heroic Rhipsime: "May God who aided the young David until he overcame Goliath the Philistine giant, also aid your youth until you overcome this godless tyrant. 112. And may he crown you with crowns of victory. For in the trial you saw how, while we were praying in the cave,† God sent his angel and shook those who surrounded us so that they were stunned and became like dead men."

† Cf. *Vs* 78.

§188. "Daughter of the prophetic faith of David, brought up in justice in my arms, you were raised before the holy and glorious altar of God as a handmaid of Christ.[82] He who today in his mercy and benevolence appeared in a revelation to us who piously beseeched him, the same will grant you and us to see him face to face[83]* without shame."

* I Cor. 13.12.

82. As ... Christ: *Ag*, *om.*

83. Him face to face: *Ag*, his face.

Greek Vo: And he will make you, with us as well, worthy to stand beside his throne unashamedly."

§189. Now the holy Gaiane said all this in the Roman tongue to her protegée[84] through the door of the chamber, while the king was struggling with saint Rhipsime. But there were there some of the palace servants who heard all this in the Roman language.†

† Roman tongue, language: *barbaṙ Hṙomayec'woc'*; cf. *hṙomayerēn* in §12, "in Latin." In the Armenian New Testament "Latin, *rōmaïsti*," Jn. 19.21, is rendered by *dalmaterēn*, "in the Dalmatian language." See Pisani, "Armenische Mizzellen, vi. *dalmaterēn* 'auf lateinisch,'" for the explanation: After Arcadus and Honorius divided Illyricum in 395, Dalmatia fell to the western empire and Pannonia to the eastern; hence "Dalmatia" was used in the east for the nearest region where Latin was spoken. See also §874.

Greek Vo: 80. All this the holy Gaiane urged on the maiden in the Roman language as she stood by the door, while the king struggled in battle with her.

Arabic Va: 29. Gaiane spoke these words in the Roman tongue, standing by the door and counselling the maiden. But the king within was burning [with passion] for her. Now some of the soldiers understood the Roman tongue.

§190. When they heard everything that Gaiane had said to her protegée, they took her away from the door. And although they beat her many times and struck her face with stones, knocked out her teeth and broke her jaws, yet she did not change her speech or say anything different to the maiden. But as she had begun speaking in the beginning, she repeated in the same tenor.

Greek Vg: 47. When the king heard that, he summoned one of his servants and ordered him to break Gaiane's teeth with stones and to send her away.

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84. To her protegée: *Ag, om.*

Greek Vo: Some of the guards who understood the Roman tongue pushed her away from the door, hitting her mouth with stones. Although they continued to do this, shattering her teeth with the gums, nonetheless she did not desist from advising the maiden to remain in purity.

Arabic Va: They took her away from the door and beat her mouth with stones. They continued doing that, and crushed her teeth and jaws. Yet she did not cease instructing the maiden to preserve her virginity.

§191. [Rhipsime] fought from the tenth hour of the day until the first evening watch, and she overcame the king.[85] The maiden was strengthened by the holy Spirit; she struck him, beat him off, and overcame him; she wore the king out, weakened him and felled him. She stripped the king naked of his clothes; she tore his robes and threw away his royal diadem, leaving him covered with shame.† And although her own clothes had been torn to shreds by him, yet when she went out she still victoriously retained her purity.

† She stripped him of his clothes leaving him covered with shame. There is a verbal parallel in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, where Thecla tears the garments off Alexander, leaving him covered in shame; *Vark' ew Vkayabanut'iwnk'* II, 523. See further Calzolari, "La vierge, le roi et le patriarche," for the image of a virgin saint.

Greek Vg: The king remained behind, but Rhipsime left the chamber, no one being able to prevent her.

Greek Vo: Likewise the holy virgin Rhipsime persisted in the struggle against the king from the tenth hour until the first watch of the night. Tearing his clothing, she overcame him by the power of the holy Spirit, and threw him aside like a corpse in one part of the bedchamber.

Arabic Va: The blessed Rhipsime struggled with the king, beginning from the tenth hour of the day until the third of early night. She tore his garments, and through the holy Spirit defeated him and threw him down as if dead in a corner of the bed.

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85. And ... king: *Ag*, *om*.

Syriac Vs: 113. Trdat was tormenting the handmaid of Christ, Rhipsime, until the middle of the night, and he enticed her with many [promises]; but his strength did not prevail. 114. For God gave her victory over him to such an extent that he was reckoned a little bird before her, although he was a very strong man, as we said earlier, and she was still young. Then she became too hard for him, and he left her.

§192. Opening the doors by force she went out, cutting through the crowd; and no one was able to hold her. She ran through the centre of the city and went out on the eastern side of the city, through the Sun-gate.[86]† Coming to the vat-stores where their earlier dwelling had been, she told the story to her companions. She herself went a long way[87] from the city to the north-east, to a high and sandy point near the main road which led to the city of Artašat.

† Sun-gate, *areg duṙn*. *Ag* omits "Sun," but in §206 renders "south [gate]" by *hēliakēs*, lit. "solar." The vat-stores were to the north-east of Vałaršapat; see §150. But here Agathangelos says that the main road led to Artašat, which is south-east of the city.

Greek Vg: Going to the holy women of her company, she informed them what had happened and how she had been preserved safe and sound.

Greek Vo: Then she opened the doors of the chamber and began to run to the city through the middle of the camp, no one being able to restrain her. When she came out of the city through the so-called "Eastern" gate, she reached the site of the press where earlier she had hidden. Finding her fellow-virgins, she reported to them how, remaining in virginity, she had tried to flee. 81. She took the royal road leading to the city of Artašat, and went up to a high place.

Arabic Va: Then she opened the doors of the chamber and came out in front of the soldiers, and began to run through the city. Nor was anyone able to restrain her. Leaving by the eastern gate of the city, she came to the press where the virgins had previously [hidden], and brought them

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86. Sun-gate: *Ag*, gate.

87. A long way, *harust mi*: *Ag*, a little [way].

the good news of preserving her virginity. She said: "I have left the palace of the king."

Syriac Vs: 115. Then the blessed one went out when there was no one to recognise her. She went to the iron gate of the city, and it opened in front of her. She went out about one mile distant from the city.

§193. When she arrived there,[88] she knelt down in prayer and said: "Lord of all, who could repay you for the blessings which have been granted us by you? For you have kept firm the hope we had in you, and you have saved us from the filthy teeth of the wild beast who would have ravaged us. But what more could we offer you in return for your salvation[89] save our souls, for you have made us worthy of your service, to bear your name wherewith you saved us? Save you, Lord, none other do we know, and we invoke your name all the day.*

* Is. 26.13.

Greek Vg [§193-196]: 48. They all in unison offered their accustomed worship to God.

Greek Vo: Kneeling down she prayed as follows: "Lord God of all, who will be able worthily to repay you for all the blessings you have bestowed on us? Because you kept intact for us our faith in you, and you saved us from the abominable teeth of the evil men who wished to destroy us, therefore we offer you our souls in return for your kindnesses, since you made us worthy to bear your holy name through which you saved us. Except for you, Lord, we know no other. We profess your holy name;

Arabic Va: 30. Then she went up to a high place, bowed down and said: "My creator and God of all, who is able to repay you for the blessings which you have granted us? I have kept my faith in you like a high and sold rock. Your have saved us from the teeth of evil men and from the filthiness with which they wished to contaminate me. And ... we offer you

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88. When ... there: *Ag*, *om*.

89. Your salvation: *Ag*, your saving love.

our souls for the sake of the gifts which you have manifested in us; for you have made us all worthy of your holy name, for the sake of which you saved us. Beside you, O Lord, we do not know [another].

Syriac Vs: 116. Then she stood in prayer and said: "How shall I repay you, Lord my God, for all your blessings towards me? For I have nothing with which to reward you, except what you did that I in person may offer you.

§194. "It is better for us to die in our purity than to stretch out our hands to foreign gods who really do not exist.[90] All the cults of the heathen are but nothing; for you are the Creator, and everything is from you and through your only-begotten Son,[91] without whom nothing at all was made.* 'Your good Spirit will lead us to a straight land,'* and will bring us to the eternal and heavenly blessings.

* Jn. 1.3. * Ps. 142.10.

Greek Vo: for it is better for us to die in purity than to stretch out our hands to another god. The pagans' objects of worship are not even gods, because you are the creator of all, true God; and your only-begotten Son, through whom everything was made and without whom nothing came into being; and your holy and good Spirit, who guided us and leads to a straight road and brings to eternal and heavenly life,

Arabic Va: [We have chosen] death in chastity, nor do we stretch out our hands to another God than you; for they are not gods whom those people worship. You are the creator, the true God; and your only Son ... through whom all things were created, and without whom nothing was made; and your holy Spirit, the chosen one, who ... and directs us in the path of truth and leads us to eternal life,

§195. "We must come before your only-begotten Son to stand without shame on the right hand side,* when you will send him

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90. Foreign ... exist: *Ag*, a foreign god.

91. And everything ... Son: *Ag*, with your only-begotten Son.

'from your prepared habitation of light[92] to look on all the inhabitants of the earth.'* He created the hearts of the sons of men, and he considers all their deeds.* Since we are from your people and from the flock of your pasture,* let us enter the mansions which you have prepared for your beloved.* Let us hasten, Lord, to leave this body in order to be joined to the band of your beloved only-begotten Son,† and to the number of those who have loved the day of the revelation and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Only let us be saved from this profanation. But if there come upon us torments for your name's sake,* we are ready.[93] You will not abandon us, since you, Lord, yourself bear me[94] witness that from my youth I have had no desire at all for earthly life. For I had regard for and faith in your saying: 'Woe to you when men will say good about you;'* 'but blessed are you when they will insult and persecute you and will make every wicked and false accusation against you for my sake; rejoice and be glad.'*

* Mt. 25.33. * Ps. 32.14. * Ps. 32.15. * Ps. 78.13. * Jn.14.2. * Mt. 5.11, Jn. 15.20. * Lk. 6.26. * Mt. 5.11, Lk. 6.22-23.

† The band, *gund*, of your Son; see §57 for the *gund* of Christ.

Greek Vo: so that we may stand unashamedly on the right hand of the throne of your only-begotten Son, when he will come again from his prepared abode to observe the inhabitants of the universe. 82. For you are, Lord, the one who formed our individual hearts, and you are aware of all our deeds, because we are from your people and from the flock of your pasturage. Render us worthy, Master, to bring us to the tents which you have prepared for those who love you; because we are anxious to depart from this body and enter the choir of the saints, and to be counted among those who loved the day of the epiphany of our Lord Jesus Christ. You understood, Master, that I did not love glory or praise or this visible temporary life, but I looked towards you and believed in the word you spoke: 'Woe to you when men speak well of you; blessed are you when

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92. Of light: *Ag*, *om*.

93. *Ag*: + and we know that.

94. Me: *Ag*, to my humility.

they insult you and falsely speak every manner of evil against you for my sake; rejoice and be glad.'

Arabic Va: so that without shame we may stand on the right hand of your only Son, who will come at the end to judge the world. 31. You, Lord, are the one who created our hearts, and you know our works, because we are your maidservants and the sheep of your flock. Make us worthy, Lord, of the dwellings that you have prepared for your friends; for we await the departure from this body, so that we may enter the company of your saints and be numbered among the friends of your Son, and [we look forward to] the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. You know, O Lord ..."

§196. "Truly, Lord, we rejoiced and were glad at this struggle which has overtaken us, to fight through your love, because your victorious power has won and given us the victory.* We were glad for these days that cast[95] us low, and for these years in which we have seen torments.* Look down, Lord, on your inheritance[96] and on the works of your hands, and lead us to your celestial city, Jerusalem, which is in the heights,* where you will gather all the just, the saints and those who loved your name.[97] Let the light of the Lord be over us."

* I Cor. 15.57. * Ps. 89. 15. * Gal. 4.26.

Greek Vo: So now, Lord and Master, we rejoice with true joy, and delight in the afflictions which have befallen us. In the struggle in which we have engaged we have gained the victory through your power; and we have taken pleasure in these days in return for the days when you humbled us and for the years in which we knew evil. So look upon your inheritance and the works of your hands, and lead us to your holy city, the Jerusalem above, in which you will gather all your saints and the just who love you, so that the brightness of the Lord our God may shine also upon us."

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95. That cast: *Ag*, when you cast.

96. Inheritance: *Ag*, maid-servants.

97. All ... name: *Ag*, the saints who loved you.

§197. While blessed saint Rhipsime was saying all this, that same evening the king's nobles and the chief-executioner† with the torturers[98] quickly arrived there, with torches lit before them. They rapidly approached and bound her hands behind her back, and tried to pull out her tongue.† But she willlingly opened her mouth and offered her tongue.*

* II Macc. 7.10.

† Chief executioner, torturers: *dahčapet, dayičk'. Dahič* is the usual term in Ełišē and Łazar for the Persian jailers; for *dahčapet* see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 519-520. *Ag* does not render the terms exactly.

† For cutting off the tongue see the parallels in martyrdoms in Delehaye, *Passions*, 203, and Lampe, *glōssokopeō* and *glōssotomeō.*

Greek Vg: 49. While they were all thanking Christ for the strength given to her, those charged with their imprisonment seized them. Binding thirty-two holy women, they put them to death, cutting off their heads with the sword. First they cut out Rhipsime's tongue, which she willingly proffered.

Greek Vo: 83. As she was making this prayer, that same night the nobles arrived with lights and torches at the spot where the maiden was. Seizing her, they bound her hands behind her back, intending to cut out her tongue. But the holy virgin willingly opened her mouth and stuck out her tongue for them.

Arabic Va: 32. ... and nobles with torches and candles to the place where the maiden was standing in prayer. They seized her, tied her hands behind her, and wished to cut out her tongue. But the blessed one proffered it of her own will.

Syriac Vs: 118. They pursued and caught her.

§198. Then they stripped from her the torn clothing which was around her. They fixed four stakes in the ground, two for her feet and two for her hands, and tied her to them. And they applied the

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98. Chief-executioner with the torturers: *Ag*, archmagus with the soldiers.

torches to her for a long time, burning and roasting her flesh with their fire. They thrust stones into her entrails, eviscerating her. And while she was still alive they plucked out the blessed one's eyes. Then limb by limb they dismembered her, saying: "All who dare to despise and insult the king's commands will perish in the same way."

Greek Vg: Then, throwing her to the ground, they cut her up limb by limb.

Greek Vo: The impious men fixed four stakes in the ground, stretched out the holy one, and taking their torches put them under her flanks for many hours, so that nearly all her body was burned. After that they pierced her entrails with sharp stones; and when they saw the lamb of God strengthened even more, while she was still alive they put out her eyes. After that, cutting her limb from limb, they said: "If anyone does not wish to obey the royal commands, such things will he endure." In this fashion she died, with faith in our Lord Jesus Christ until her last breath.

Arabic Va: Then the impious ones fixed four stakes in the ground and spread her out between the stakes. Taking the torches, they applied them to her flanks for a long time in order to burn her whole body. They also had sharp stones in their hands with which they struck her ribs. When they saw that the maiden was being strengthened by Christ, they even plucked out her eyes while she was still alive. After that they cut her in pieces, saying: "This is the reward for whoever does not obey the king." In this fashion her life ended with faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Syriac Vs: They fixed four pegs in the ground and tied her to them. They put out her eyes, cut off her tongue and hands, rent her belly and filled it with stones, then cut off her head. 119. Immediately they cut her limb from limb, saying: "This is the reward of those who do not obey the king." So died the saint and martyr, Rhipsime the handmaid of Christ, in the contest of martyrdom.

§199. There were other holy ones, men and women, who had come with them, more than seventy people. But of those who came there at that time and who sought to wrap and bury their bodies, they put to the sword and killed about thirty-two.†

† The thirty-two killed here had come to bury "their bodies," but so far only Rhipsime has been martyred. These 32 plus the one in the vat-store form the 33 companions of Rhipsime mentioned in §210. For the number of martyred virgins see further §138.

Greek Vo: When her companions in Christ learned of her death, they ran to the spot in order to gather the holy one's relics. On realising this, the nobles drew their swords and cut down thirty-two of them. As they were being slaughtered, they sang the following psalm:

Arabic Va: Now when her companions knew that her martyrdom had been accomplished, they went out with the intention to take up her body. But the wicked men noticed them, drew their swords, and slew thirty-two nuns from among them.

§200. These said as follows: "We have loved you, Lord, so that you might hear the voice of our prayers. You inclined your benign ear and we invoked you.* To you be glory, for you did not deprive our unworthiness of your blessings. You preserved us like the apple of an eye, and saved us under the shadow of your wings from the multitude of these iniquities.* And behold, we die for[99] your glorious name." Saying this with one voice, together they breathed their last.

* Ps. 114.1. * Deut. 32.10-11, Ps. 16.8-9, 60.5.

Greek Vo: "We were happy that you heard, Lord, the voice of our entreaty and bent your ear, Good one, to us because we called upon you, God who is glorified. And you did not fail, Lord, of your blessings for [us] unworthy ones, but you preserved us like the pupil of an eye. In the shelter of your wings you saved us from a crowd of impious ones, and rendered us worthy of death for the sake of your name."

Arabic Va: While they were killing them, they prayed, saying: "We have loved you, Lord, because you heard the voice of our prayers, and in your abundant compassion you inclined your ear towards us. For we longed for you, praiseworthy God, nor did you reject us as unworthy of your blessings, Lord. Rather, you protected us as the pupil of an eye, and

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99. We die for: *Ag*, we are the sheep of.

under the shadow of your wings you saved us from the congregation of the wicked, and you reckoned us worthy of death for the sake of your holy name." And the martyrdom of the blessed women was accomplished.

§201. And there was one[100] killed in the vat-store, which had been their lodging-place, who spoke thus at the moment of her death: "I thank you, benign Lord, for not excluding me; for I was ill and could not run to follow my companions. But do you, benevolent and sweet Lord, receive and join my soul to the company of your holy martyrs, my companions and sisters, with your handmaid and our mother and leader, Gaiane, and Rhipsime our child who loved you."[101] And speaking thus she died. They dragged out their bodies and threw them as food for the dogs of the city and beasts of the land and birds of the sky.

Greek Vo: 84. When they had died a blessed death, one of the guards ran into the press; and finding one of the company of holy virgins remaining, slew her. She, sacrificed like a lamb, until her last breath gave thanks, saying: "I thank you, Lord my God, that although I was weak and unable to undergo that fine martyrdom with my companions, you did not fail me in my absence. So now, Master, receive my soul and number me with your saints." On saying this, she gave up the ghost.

Arabic Va: 33. But one of the guards ran off to the press and found one of the virgins who had remained, and there he slew her. She was slain like a lamb [lit. ewe], glorifying [God] and saying: "I thank you, my Lord and my God, for I was weak. But you did not deprive me of martyrdom with my companions. Now, my Lord, receive my soul and count me among your saints." She gave up her spirit, and her martyrdom was accomplished.

Syriac Vs: 122. A further one of them was ill, and they left her in the wine-press. She prayed and said: "Do not, my Lord, deprive me of death

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100. *Ag*: + who was ill.

101. Who loved you: *Ag*, *om*.

with my companions or make me different from them. But receive my soul with theirs, and make me worthy of a lot with my companions." 123. While she was praying these words, they came to her and slew her. They threw the bodies of these holy martyrs with the dead corpses of cattle.

§202. But the king paid no regard to his ignominious humiliation, of which he should have been ashamed,[102] he who was so renowned for superior bravery in battle. Also in the Greek Olympics he had appeared as strong as a giant, showing there many deeds of prowess.[103] He waged no few battles beyond the river Euphrates in the region of the Tačiks.† Once leaving the combat there on horseback gravely wounded,[104] he picked up his horse and its armour and his own armour, and fastening them behind him on his back, he swam across the Euphrates river.† So he, who was such a powerful soldier and strong of body, by the will of God was defeated by a single girl. But he paid no thought to this shameful disgrace, but was rather inflamed to see his love; and saddened at the death of the maiden, he bitterly mourned.

† Tačiks: the Arabs of northern Mesopotamia, translated in *Ag* as "Saracens," as above, §23.

† Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 79, elaborates on this, mentioning Olympic heroes outshone by Trdat! He says that it was Trdat's horse that was wounded, but Trdat did not join the fugitives from the Roman defeat. See also Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 82 and 85, for Trdat's warlike prowess. Toumanoff, "Arsacids," 270, n. 193, takes the occasion to be a reminiscence of the defeat of Galerius in 297 rather than the defeat of Carinus in 283.

Greek Vo: 85. The king--he who was so valiant and powerful in war, who had strangled wild beasts with his arms, and who had subjected the whole land of the Persians to himself--when he realised his shame that he had been defeated by a single maiden through the power of God, began to lament with tears and say:

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102 Of which ... ashamed: *Ag, om.*

103 Showing ... prowess: *Ag, om.*

104 *Ag*: + fleeing the battle in order not to be captured.

Arabic Va: 34. Now the king, who had been a giant and strong in war, who with his own hands had torn apart a lion and a bear, who had subjected to himself the whole region of the Persians, realised his confusion—for he had been defeated by a single maiden through the power of God. He began to sigh and weep, saying:

§203. "Do you see, he said, that bewitching sect of the race of Christians,† how they destroy many men's souls, drawing them away from the worship of the gods? They deprive them of[105] the pleasures of this earthly life and do not tremble at death. [I mean] especially the wonderful Rhipsime, who had no equal among women on earth, for my heart is broken for that amazing and unforgettable girl. She will never pass from my mind so long as I, king Trdat, remain alive. I know well the land of the Greeks and Romans, and our Parthian territory,† for that is our homeland,[106] and Asorestan and Tačikastan and Atrpatakan.[107] Why should I enumerate them one by one? For there are many regions to which I have come in peace, and many which I have plundered in war. Yet in none have I seen the like of this beauty, whom these magicians have destroyed; for their sorcery has become so strong as to overcome even me."

† Bewitching: *kaxardasar*, as in Acts 19.19, *kaxard* meaning "sorcerer, witch, magician," as just below and in §204 of Gaiane. See further §156 for the seductive arts of Christians.

† Parthia is the Arsacid homeland, *bnut'iwn;* see above §18. Although *Ag* renders *Tačik* by "Saracen" above, §202, the noun for that land is not rendered here. Atrpatakan is the region of north-western Iran on the Armenian border; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 451. In §842 *Ag* renders it by *Pyrosxōria*, its etymological meaning, i.e. "land of fire."

Greek Vo: "See the witchcraft of the Christians, how they destroy the souls of men by separating them from the cult of the gods, and how, despising death, they have taken from me the very shapely Rhipsime, whose beauty cannot be found in the whole race of women. I shall not be

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105. Deprive them of: *Ag*, despise.

106. For that ... homeland: *Ag*, *om*.

107. Tačikastan and Atrpatakan: *Ag*, Persia.

able in the whole of my life to forget her beauty; for I have been in the land of the Romans and in other nations, but cannot see anywhere the like, nor have I seen such a one among us Parthians. But their spells have prevailed even against me, and snatched her from me."

Arabic Va: "Do you see the sorcery of the Christians, how they destroy the souls of men and prevent them from the worship of the gods? In their scorn for death, they have snatched from me Rhipsime, whose beauty will never be found among all women: I went to the city of Rome and all the cities of the nations, and did not see one similar to her; nor in all Armenia have I seen her like. But their sorcery has come among us, and they have snatched her from me."

§204. The next day the chief executioner[108] came forward to receive orders for the execution of saint Gaiane. But when he heard, [the king] was overwhelmed, frenzied and stupefied for love, nor did he remember the death of[109] saint Rhipsime but thought that she was still alive. He promised to bestow great dignity, rank and honour on anyone who could against expectations entice or persuade the maiden to come to him. But [the chief executioner][110] said: "So will perish all your enemies, O king, and those who dishonour the gods and the commands of your majesty. But there still lives that witch who corrupted and destroyed the beautiful girl,[111] and two more companions of hers."

Greek Vo: 86. Such were his words. The next day the chief-magus entered his presence and sought the condemnation of saint Gaiane. When he king heard him, he thought the blessed Rhipsime still survived, and began to promise him the greatest honours if he could bring him the maiden alive. But the chief-magus said to him: "So may be saved [sic!] the king's enemies, and those who insult the gods and despise your

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108. Chief executioner, *dahčapet*: *Ag*, archmagus.

109. Nor ... of: *Ag, om.*

110. *Ag*: the archmagus.

111. Who ... girl: *Ag, om.*

commands. But that witch who led the girl astray and deprived her of life is still alive, as well as three others with her."

Arabic Va: 35. The next day his executioner came to him and said: "Allow me, my lord, to kill Gaiane." But when he heard his words, the king supposed Rhipsime was alive, and he said to him: "If you bring her alive to me, I shall promote you." In response the executioner spoke thus: "May the king be saved from his enemies, just as we have annihilated all those who slander the gods and despise your command. Only there remains alive that witch who led astray the young virgin by her counsel. She is the one who deprived her of life; and with her there are three others."

§205. When he heard that saint Rhipsime was dead, he was cast down again into the same despondency; coming down,[112] he sat on the ground, weeping and mourning. Then he commanded that the virtuous Gaiane first have her tongue pulled out and then be put to death, since she had dared[113] to corrupt with her harmful advice her who had the beauty of the gods among mankind. And since her advice had displeased the gods, who had given that girl such beauty,[114] therefore they[115] should torture her to death.†

† Note that *Ag* turns the second half of the paragraph into a speech by Trdat.

Greek Vo: When the king had been convinced about the blessed Rhipsime's death, he rose from his throne, sat on the floor, and began to lament over her. He ordered that first the holy Gaiane's tongue be cut out from the very back, and then that she be put to death, because she dared to advise the maiden and to despise the gods who had given her their beauty.

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112. *Ag*: + from the throne.

113. *Ag*: + he said.

114. And … beauty: *Ag*, *om*.

115. They: *Ag*, you.

Arabic Va: When the king learned about the death of the blessed Rhipsime, he rose up from his throne, sat on the ground, and began to mourn her. Then he commanded concerning the holy one [Gaiane]: "First do this to her: Pull out her tongue from her throat, then put her to death; because she commanded the maiden to oppose me and to despise the gods who had bestowed such beauty on her."

Syriac Vs: 120. Trdat ordered that they should torture Gaiane, Rhipsime's guardian, because it was she, he said, who did not allow her to do my will.

§206. So the chief-executioner came out boasting that he would put her to a cruel death. He[116] had them taken in chains out of the city by the South[117] gate, along the road that leads to the Mecamawr bridge,[118] to the place where they were accustomed to execute those condemned to death, a marshy place near the moat which ran around the city.† And they brought four stakes for each one of them.

† South gate: rendered in *Ag* by *hēliakē*; see above §192. For the *Mecamawr* bridge, south of Artašat, see above, §33.

Greek Vo: Taking the sentence against her, the chief-magus went out joyfully, and ordered her to be brought out of the city in chains with the three virgins in her company, and to be taken to the river by the bridge where it was their custom to decapitate malefactors. And he ordered four stakes to be fixed in the ground for each one of them.

Arabic Va: So the chief-executioner, when the king gave him permission to kill them, came out joyfully. He took the holy one and the three others with her, bound in chains, outside the city, and came with them to the river where there was a bridge where they used to execute people. Then he ordered four stakes to be fixed in the ground for each one.

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116. Chief executioner ... he: *Ag*, archmagus, having received the command.

117. South: *Ag*, Sun.

118. *Metsamawr* bridge: *Ag*, bridge of the river called very deep.

§207. While they were setting these out, saint Gaiane with her companions began to speak as follows: "We thank you, Lord, for making us worthy to die on behalf of your great name, and for honouring our earthly nature so that we might become worthy of your divinity, and for making me[119] share in the death of your holy martyrs, Rhipsime and her companions. So now I am anxious and impatient to join those who have loved you; and I am happy to follow my daughter and my child Rhipsime and my sisters and companions.[120] Remember us, Lord, who 'for your name's sake die daily. We have been considered as lambs for the slaughter. Arise and do not abandon us for your name's sake.'* Give us your victory, and the evil one and his co-workers will be abased from fear of your glory."[121]

* Ps. 43.23-24, Rom. 8.36.

Greek Vo: 87. While the guards were preparing this, the blessed Gaiane with the three maidens began to pray, saying: "I thank you, Lord God, that you have made us worthy to die for your great name and to share the death of your saints. So we hasten with longing to join those who loved you. And I greatly rejoice over my daughter Rhipsime, whom I shall follow to the end with my other sisters who chose death for the sake of your holy name. Now remember us, Lord, because for your sake we die every day; for we have been reckoned to them as sheep for slaughter. Arise, Lord God, and do not reject us for ever, but save us for your name's sake and give us your complete victory, so that the impious may be ashamed in their pursuits."

Arabic Va: 36. While they were engaged in this, the blessed Gaiane and the three others who were with her stood in prayer, saying: "We thank you, our Lord and our God, for making us worthy of death on behalf of your holy name, and for making us share in the death of your saints, since we desire rapidly to be joined to those who love you. I especially

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119. Me: *Ag*, us.

120. I am anxious ... companions: *Ag*, we are anxious to follow our daughter Rhipsime and her sisters.

121. From fear of your glory: *Ag*, as always, so also now.

rejoice for my daughter Rhipsime and the rest of my sisters who merited death for your holy name. Now, therefore, remember us, our Lord and our God, because for your sake we die today. We are like lambs that are led to sacrifice. Arise, our Lord and our God, and do not reject us for ever. But save us for your name's sake, and give us the completion of your victory, so that the transgressors of the law may be put to shame."

§208. Then they came forward and tore the clothes from their limbs and bound each one to four stakes. They pierced the skin of their soles and put in tubes, and by blowing they flayed the three saints alive, from below up to their breasts.[122] They pierced their gullets and pulled out their tongues. They forced stones into their entrails, eviscerating them. And because they were still alive, they then cut off their heads with a sword.†

† For the traditional final beheading see Delehaye, *Legends*, 97, and *idem*, *Passions*, 206.

Greek Vg: 50. Taking hold of Gaiane with the others and tying them to stakes, they flayed them like wineskins. In this fashion they died.

Greek Vo: 88. When their prayer was finished, the guards took hold of them; and stripping off their clothing, they stretched each one out on the four stakes. Cutting their skin at the ankles they inserted tubes, and blowing through them while they were still alive, they separated the skin from below up to the breast. Pulling their necks backwards, they ripped out the tongues of the holy ones and cut them off. In addition to that, the parts of their bodies left unpunished, that is their stomachs and intestines, they struck with sharp stones. While they were still breathing they cut off their heads.

Arabic Va: 37. When they had finished praying, the guards seized them, stripped them of their garments, and stretched them out on the stakes. They cut their tendons, inserted reed tubes, and blew into them while they were still alive; from their lower parts to their breasts their skin was removed, as a butcher does to a sheep when he wishes to skin it. Then,

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122. *Ag*: + even up to their hair.

piercing their necks from behind they pulled out their tongues. After this, taking sharp stones they beat their breasts while they were still alive. Afterwards they decapitated them.

Syriac Vs: They removed her tongue from her throat, put out her eyes, broke her legs, inflated her, flayed her, and removed her skin. In this way she gave up her soul to God.

§209. Now those who had once come with them from the land of the Romans and had arrived together in this land of Armenia[123] were more than seventy people. But those who were put to death with the saintly ladies Gaiane and Ripsime, with those who were counted in the number of the martyred, altogether those killed were thirty-seven.

§210. So on the twenty-sixth of the month Hoṙi[124] saint Rhipsime died with the holy company of thirty-three[125] fellow-martyrs; and on the twenty-seventh of the month of Hoṙi[126] saint Gaiane with her two companions,† who with her fought the fight and were crowned and[127] received the palm of victory.*

* II Tim. 4.7-8.

† Since the Armenian calendar was one day shorter than the Greek, the 26th of Hoṙi and of September coincided between 464 and 468; but the equivalence was not necessarily considered to be an exact one, for Hoṙi and September coincided, more or less, over a much longer period. Cf. §815, where the commemoration of Athenogenes and John the Baptist at Aštišat is to be celebrated on the 7th of Sahmi, translated in *Ag* as the 7th of October. For the number of martyrs see the discussion above, §138, 199, 209. The numbers are often inconsistent, nor does *Ag* always give the same number as *Aa*.

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123. And … Armenia: *Ag*, *om.*

124. *Ag*: September.

125. Thirty-three: *Ag*, *om.*

126. *Ag*: September.

127. With her … and: *Ag*, *om.*

Greek Vg: The bodies of the saints remained for a long time where they were, exhaling a sweet odour. All the people were amazed that a sweet odour instead of a foul smell was given off by their holy and undefiled bodies.† *All the saints expired on the twenty-sixth of the month of September.*

† Cf. *Aa* §223.

Greek Vo: The holy Rhipsime was martyred with thirty-three of her companions on the twenty-sixth of the month of September; and the blessed Gaiane with the three virgins on the twenty-seventh of the same month of September.

Arabic Va: The martyrdom of Rhipsime and her thirty-three blessed companions was carried out on the 26th day of the month of October ['qṭmbrs]; and of the blessed Gaiane with the three virgins on the 28th day of the same month.

Syriac Vs: 121. She died with the crown of martyrdom, she and three others of her companions with her. He gave a command and had the remaining thirty-three brought, and he killed them with the sword. But one of them, who was called Mani, went to the mountain and dwelt in a cave.

§211. The king spent six days in profound grief and deep mourning[1] because of his passionate love for the beautiful Rhipsime. Then afterwards he arranged to go hunting:[2] he had his soldiers gather the pack of hounds, the beaters scattered, the nets fixed, and the traps set.[3] Then he went out to hunt in the plain of P'aṙakan Šemak.†

† Pack of hounds: *p'aṙakan*, a hunting dog; see Zekiyan, "Barak." P'aṙakan Šemakac': a hunting resort, see the *Primary History* [in Sebēos], 52. The etymology is explained by Russell, "The Scepter of Tiridates:" *p'aṙakan [n]šemakac'*, from *nišēmag*, Pahlavi for "abode;" thus "place of snares, or glorious place." The gloss in Sebēos, *teli bnakut'ean*, indicates that the etymology was understood.

Greek Vg: 51. King Tiridates mourned the beauty of the virgin Rhipsime for six days. Then urged by the magnates to turn away from his grief, they set out for the chase, so that by the delightful hunting of game distress might be turned to delight. Having been persuaded, the king mounted the royal golden chariot and [set out] for the place where the hunt was habitually held.

Greek Vo: 89. After the completion of the martyrdom of the holy virgins, king Tiridates spent six days grieving, as he recalled the beauty of the blessed Rhipsime. After the six days he yielded to the appeals of the nobles, and ordered his army to be brought together so he could go out hunting. When this had been done and the horses were yoked,

Arabic Va: 38. When the martyrdom of the holy ones had been carried out, for six days the king remained grieving for the blessed Rhipsime. But after six days his princes asked him to cease weeping. Then he ordered his army to assemble so that they could go out hunting.

Syriac Vs: 124. After three days Trdat remembered the beauty of Rhipsime, and was inflamed with love for her. When they told him about

1. And deep mourning: *Ag, om.*

2. *Ag*: + with the army.

3. He had … set: *Ag*, when the foot soldiers had prepared the nets.

her death, he was greatly distressed and threw the crown from his head. He did not eat or drink, and mourned for her, saying: "I have not seen her like, neither among the Greeks nor among the Armenians, nor in any other place." 125. His nobles came to him and consoled him with many [words], and told him to go out to the hunt and amuse himself. They brought him a chariot, mounted him in it, and his nobles went out with him.

§212. But when the king, having mounted his chariot, was about to leave the city, then suddenly punishment from the Lord fell upon him. An impure demon struck the king and knocked him down from his chariot. Then he began to rave and to eat his own flesh. Furthermore, in the likeness of Nebuchadnezzar,† king of Babylon, he lost his human nature for the likeness of wild pigs, and went about like them[4] and dwelt among them.* Then, entering a reedy place, in senseless abandon[5] he pastured on grass and wallowed naked in the plain.† For although they wished to restrain him in the city,[6] they were unable to do so, partly because of his natural strength, and partly because of the force of the demons who had possessed him.

* Dan. 4.12-13.

† Trdat's demonic possession is based on the fate of Nebuchadnezzar as described in Daniel, ch. 4. There are parallels in other hagiographical texts; see Delehaye, *Passions*, 197, 217-8. However, in the book of Daniel Nebuchadnezzar was transformed into an ox, *arǰaṙ*. Trdat's transformation into a pig, *xoz* [cf. §728, in swinish form, *xozac'eal*] is a deliberate attempt to undermine the prestige of the Iranian motif of the *varaz*, or wild boar; see Garsoïan, "The Iranian Substratum." That Trdat became a boar, *varaz*, is stated in §727.

† Wallowed: *kocelov*, "beating himself," an expression frequently used of mourners and madmen. Cf. Mk. 5.5, the entry *koc* in the *NBHL*, and the notes of Garsoïan to the *Epic Histories*, IV 4, 15.

Greek Vg: 52. As the royal horses drew forward and the magnates on horseback and on foot preceded and followed, when they reached the

4. And went about like them: *Ag, om.*

5. In senseless abandon: *Ag, om.*

6. They ... city: *Ag*, those in the city wished to restrain him.

road, divine anger fell upon them. An evil spirit struck the king and threw him off the chariot on to the ground. He fell down and chewed his own hands, affected by madness, and ripped his clothing. Like Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, he turned into a boar; and changed from his original form and state, he ran about in the meadows living with the wild pigs. No one [was able] to restrain him because of the strength he naturally possessed, or to relieve him of the demons who had entered into him.

Greek Vo: as he was mounting the carriage suddenly anger was sent down on him from God: an evil spirit struck him and knocked him from the carriage, and he began to rave and eat his own flesh. Like Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon he was changed into a wild beast, for he became a wild boar and pastured in the meadows with the boars. His servants wished to restrain him in the city, but were unable to do so because of the strength he naturally possessed, and because of the ferocity that accrued to him from the activity of the demons.

Arabic Va: When this was done and they had brought the horses, he mounted the royal chariot. Then punishment from God promptly fell upon him. An impure spirit entered him and knocked him down from the chariot; and he began to eat his own flesh. As happened to king Nebuchadnezzar when he went mad and went out to pasture in the open country with wild beasts, likewise this happened to king Trdat. He was turned into a wild pig, and went out into the forest to pasture with swine. Those who were with him took hold of him in order to bring him back into the city. But they could not control him because of his strength and the demon who had entered him and increased his ferocity.

Syriac Vs: 126. When they had gone out, God sent a demon upon him, and he fell from the chariot and began to eat his own flesh. And he was changed from the form of a man and became a boar. 127. He went to the thickets and fed with the boars.

§213. Likewise all the populace in the city went mad in the same way through demon-possession. And terrible ruin fell upon the country. All the king's household, including slaves and servants,

were afflicted with torments. And there was terrible mourning on account of these afflictions.[7]

Greek Vg: 53. Not only did he suffer this, but also most of the royal household, generals and governors, and not a few of the soldiers: some fell down, some were driven into the mountains, and others fled to the meadows and forests. The greatest [...] befell the whole land of Armenia.

Greek Vo: Not only he, but also all the people of the city and his entire army equally with him became mad, each eating his own flesh. The entire household of the king was gripped by the same calamity.

Arabic Va: Nor did this happen to him alone, but to all the princes and prefects; and many of his companions trembled and ate their flesh, and many from the king's palace were afflicted by that malady. And great terror fell on the whole country in Armenia.

Syriac Vs: Demons took possession of all his nobles as well and all the people of his palace, except his sister and his wife. 128. They all were stunned, and wandered in all directions like people possessed by demons. But Trdat was feeding with the boars and eating grass. From time to time his senses returned to him and he remembered his kingdom.

§214. Then there appeared a vision from God[8] **to the king's sister, whose name was Xosroviduxt.† So she came to speak with the people and related the vision, saying: "A vision appeared to me this night. A man in the likeness of light came and told me 'there is no other cure for these afflictions that have come upon you, unless you send to the city of Artašat and bring thence the prisoner Gregory. When he comes he will teach you the remedy to cure your ills'."**

† Xosroviduxt, lit. "daughter of Xosrov." Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 82, gives a flattering portrait of her.

Greek Vg: 54. After three days had passed, Xosroviduxt, the sister of king Tiridates, had a vision in her dreams. She, who lived a pious life,

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7. Were afflicted ... afflictions: *Ag*, likewise all were chastised with many punishments.

8. From God: *Ag, om.*

saw a man radiating light who said to her: "What has befallen the king and the rest will not be cured unless you send and bring Gregory, whom you cast into the pit of snakes and beasts fifteen years ago, after your brother imposed a sentence of death. In this way you will be saved by the power of God."

Greek Vo: 90. After these events the king's sister by the name of Xosroviduxt saw a vision from the Lord, which she repeated to the royal officers around the king and the magnates and satraps, saying: "That night I saw in a dream a man in the likeness of light, who standing beside me said: 'You will be unable to be delivered from that affliction in any other way save by sending to the city of Artašat and bringing the holy Gregory, whom you bound and cast in the very deep pit; for he will indicate to you the remedy of healing'."

Arabic Va: 39. After three days had passed—now king Trdat had a sister called Xosrovidux—she saw a vision from the Lord, and she revealed it to some of the princes and prefects, saying: "I saw this night in my sleep a man shining like light, and he said to me: 'Your brother the king and his companions cannot be saved from these maladies that have befallen them, unless you send to the city of Artašat and summon the holy Gregory, whom you bound and threw into the deep pit. For he will teach you the remedy that will benefit you'."

Syriac Vs: 129. Then God, merciful and compassionate, who hears the prayers of his servants who call upon him at all times, and chastises everyone as he wishes, who through his love gives life and punishes in his mercy, sent an angel through a vision. 130. He said to his sister: "You have no cure that will heal the king and make him a human as before and restore their senses to his nobles, except Gregory, servant of the living God who made heaven and earth and everything in them. 131. Behold, he has been cast into a pit by the city of Artašat, because that Trdat who has now become a boar, inflicted great torments on him and threw him down there." 132. Then his sister summoned some of those in whom their reason had been preserved, and said to them: "Go and bring Gregory out of the pit that is by the city of Artašat; he will cure the king and all his nobles."

§215. When the populace heard this they began to mock at her words. They began to say: "You too then are mad. Some demon has possessed you. It is fifteen years† since they threw him into the terribly deep pit, so how is it that you say he is alive? Where would even his bones be? For on the same day[9] when they put him down there, he would have immediately dropped dead at the very sight of the snakes."

† Fifteen years. See §122 for the variation in the number of years.

Greek Vg: 55. She rose up, and summoning those who had not been afflicted, she related what she had seen, repeating all the words. They thought it incredible that the holy Gregory had survived, and said to her: "We heed your words, but do not think he is alive."

Greek Vo: On hearing her words they began to mock her and say: "Indeed, you too have been gripped by the same frenzy and know not what you are saying. For if you were sane, you would have known that today marks fifteen years in the very deep pit full of snakes and vipers, serpents and scorpions. And would his bones survive surrounded by the poisonous beasts?"

Arabic Va: But when they heard her words, they began to mock her, saying: "Truly, what happened to these has befallen you too. Indeed you do not know what you are saying. For if you were of sound mind, you would know that it is fifteen years to the day that Gregory was thrown into the deep pit, full of snakes and vipers and scorpions, so that even his bones will have been scattered."

Syriac Vs: 133. They responded, saying: "In you too there is a demon. The man has been bound in chains, his body broken by torments; he has been cast into a deep pit in which there are evil and fatal reptiles already for fifteen years—and now you tell us that he will cure the king and his nobles!" But she kept silent.

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9. Day: *Ag*, hour.

§216. But the princess had the same vision again, five times,[10] with threats that unless she reported it immediately she would suffer great torments, and the afflictions of the people and of the king would become even worse, with death and various tortures.[11] So Xosroviduxt came forward again in great fear and hesitation, and repeated the words of the angel.[12]

Greek Vg: 56. After a delay of one day Xosroviduxt saw the same [vision]. Early in the morning she again related [...] to send one of the magnates to Artašat to bring Gregory.

Greek Vo: After that again a second time the same [vision] was revealed to the woman. Since they did not believe her, up to the fifth time similar things were revealed to her, and it was threatened her that unless she announced them to the royal officers and satraps and all the nobles of the king, they would fall into worse evils—she herself and the king and all the inhabitants of their land. Seized with great fear, the above-mentioned Xosroviduxt again entered the presence of the royal officers and satraps and nobles and told them everything, mentioning also the details of the threat made against them.

Arabic Va: Then that vision appeared to her again, and she told it to them, but they did not believe her. Even five times this vision appeared to her, warning and telling her: "Unless you tell the princes and courtiers and nobles, worse than this will befall you and the king and all the inhabitants of your country." Then great fear seized Xosroviduxt. Once more she approached the king's companions and his princes, and informed them about all the threats which had been made to her and to all the people of the country.

Syriac Vs: 134. On another night [the angel] appeared to them in a vision—to the wife and the sister of Trdat who had become a boar—and said to them: "Go to your brother, because from time to time his senses return to him. And whisper to him that he should tell one of the nobles

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10. Five times: *Ag*, a second and third time.

11. And various tortures: *Ag*, *om*.

12. Angel: *Ag*, vision.

that they should bring Gregory from the pit; and he will cure him." 135. She went and found him feeding in one of the thickets. She spoke to him as she had been told, and he bent his head as if [to say] "yes."

§217. Then they straightway sent there a noble prince whose name was Awtay.† He went to the city of Artašat in order to bring him out of the dungeon and deep pit. Now when Awtay arrived at the city of Artašat, the citizens came out to meet him[13] to ask the reason for his coming. He told them: "I have come to take away[14] the prisoner Gregory." But they were amazed and all said: "Who knows if he is there?[15] For it is many years since they threw him there." But he related to them the details of the vision and everything that had happened.

† Awtay: the only person of this name attested in Ačaṙean, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baṙaran*. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 77 and 82, gives further details, claiming that he was from the Amatuni family and had been the guardian, *snuc'ol*, of Xosroviduxt. On the Armenian tradition of guardians see the note to §138 above.

Greek Vg: 57. Selecting the prince Awtay, they sent him off. When he arrived in the city of Artašat, he was met by the citizens, who were surprised at the arrival of such a man, since they did not know why he had come. One said to the other: "What does the arrival of this man mean? What is the royal command?" Awtay dismounted from his horse and inquired the way to the pit, saying to them: "I have come on an errand from the great lady Xosroviduxt, for she saw a vision involving the king, and [how God intends] to cure him." And narrating all that she had seen, he astounded the citizens.

Greek Vo: 91. Hearing what she reported, and learning that they were threatened to fall into worse evils unless they brought the blessed Gregory out of the pit, with great haste they sent one of the satraps, whose name was Awtay, to the city of Artašat in order to bring the holy one out of the very deep pit. When Awtay reached the above-mentioned

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13. *Ag*: + with joy.

14. Take away: *Ag*, remove from prison.

15. Who ... there: *Ag*, Is he still alive?

town of Artašat, all the populace of the city came out to meet him in order to find out what his arrival [meant]. Awtay said to them: "I have come here on account of the prisoner Gregory." On hearing this they began to be astonished and said: "Who can believe that he is still alive? It is many years since he was thrown in the pit, and we know that no one can endure the hissing of the serpents. How can you say that you have come for the prisoner Gregory?" But Awtay related the whole affair to them, and how the vision had been revealed to the king's sister Xosroviduxt. They were awestruck.

Arabic Va: 40. When they heard her words and the threats made to them and to the inhabitants of their country, unless they brought the blessed Gregory out of the pit, they quickly chose someone from the nobles by the name of Awtay, and sent him to the city of Artašat in order to bring the blessed Gregory out of the deep pit. Now when Awtay arrived at the city of Artašat, the princes came out to meet him in order to learn the reason for his arrival. Then Awtay said to them: "I have come for Gregory shut up in the pit." But on hearing his words they were amazed at him and said: "Who can believe that he is alive, for it is many years since he was thrown into the pit? We know that he could not have been preserved from the breath of the snakes that are in it. So how do you say that you have come for Gregory the prisoner?" But Awtay informed them of the vision that the king's sister Xosroviduxt had seen, and fear descended on them.

Syriac Vs: 136. She ordered one of the nobles, who was called Awta, to go with a force to the city of Artašat and bring Gregory from the pit. 137. When Awta went and arrived at Artašat, the local headmen came out to greet him and receive him. When they learned the reason for his [coming], they said to him that nothing remained of that man, not even his scent; for there are evil beasts in that pit.

§218. So they went and brought long strong ropes, which they joined together and let down inside. Awtay the prince shouted with a loud voice and said: "Gregory, if you are somewhere down there,[16] come out.* For the Lord your God whom you worshipped has

16. Somewhere down there: *Ag*, still among the living.

commanded that you be brought forth." Then he stood up, and straightway moved the rope and shook it strongly.

* Jn. 11.43.

Greek Vg: 58. With great alacrity he set off for the pit with a crowd of citizens and his own bodyguard. Tying ropes together, they let them down into the pit. Some from the city said the vision was unbelievable: "For many thrown into the pit have suffocated merely from the hissing of the serpents, and died within one hour. He has been there fifteen years; how can he still be alive?" 59. But Awtay approached the pit and shouted in a very loud voice: "Gregory, you have a truly great God, who brought terrible blows on us and through a vision ordered you to come out. So if you are still alive, let us know so that we can bring you up." 60. Saint Gregory, shaking the ropes, indicated to them that he was still alive.

Greek Vo: They tied long ropes together, and on reaching the pit in which the blessed Gregory was, they let down the rope and the satrap Awtay shouted in a loud voice: "Gregory, if you are still alive, come up out of the pit, because the Lord your God whom you worship has commanded you to come out." Immediately he seized the rope that had been thrown down and shook it, in order to make known to everyone that he was alive.

Arabic Va: Then they linked ropes to ropes and let down the rope into the pit where the blessed Gregory was. And Awtay who had been sent for him, shouted to him in a loud voice: "Gregory, if you are alive, come out of the pit; for it is the Lord your God whom you serve who ordered you to come out." Immediately he grasped the rope and shook it, so everyone would realise that he was alive.

Syriac Vs: 138. But Awta went to the pit, brought four long ropes and tied them together. He threw them into the pit and shouted out in a loud voice, saying: "Gregory, servant of God, take hold, because your Lord has sent after you." 139. Then he shook the rope from below, at which they rejoiced greatly. They threw down clothes for him to put on his flanks and to tie the rope to. He did so, and tied the rope around his waist and shook it for them.

§219. When they felt this they pulled him up, and they saw that his body was as black as charcoal.* Then they brought him clothing and dressed him, and joyfully took him from the city of Artašat and led him to Vałaršapat. Then, sorely afflicted, the king left the herd of swine;[17] led by the demon he came to meet them, naked and ignominious. And the princes waited for them outside the city.

* Job 30.30.

Greek Vg: And when he had tightened [the ropes] around himself, he was brought up. He was changed in bodily aspect: from the growth of his hair all his body was covered. Awtay embraced him, brought a white garment and dressed the holy one. Taking him on his horse he went off, accompanied by most of the people of Artašat.

Greek Vo: When they knew that he had not died, they pulled to bring him up. When he came up, they saw that his body had changed from the passage of time, for it had no bruises or marks anywhere. Bringing garments they clothed him, for he was naked when cast in the pit. They brought him with the greatest joy to the city of Vałaršapat. During the time of his sojourn in the pit a certain widow of royal family had nourished him with bread and water. 92. As the blessed Gregory was about to approach the city, behold the impure spirits drove the king, who had been changed into a pig, to meet the saint.

Arabic Va: He tied himself to the rope, and they brought him out. When they looked at his body, changed because of the long passage of years, they found no marks on it. Then Awtay greeted him and put clothes on him, because he had been thrown naked into the pit. They took him with great joy, and brought him to [the city of Vałaršapat from] the city of Artašat. Now as long as he had been in the pit, a widow came regularly from the palace and brought for him a little bread and water. 41. Now when the holy one arrived at the city, the demons made the king, who was then a pig, to go out to meet the holy one.

Syriac Vs: 140. They pulled on it and brought him up. And when they saw him they did him obeisance. They rejoiced and wondered at him; his

17. Left ... swine: *Ag, om.*

body had become black. They clothed him with outer garments and departed. 141. When the inhabitants of Artašat saw him, they rejoiced greatly and were amazed. And when they arrived at Vałaršapat, Trdat's city, and the citizens heard, they came out onto the road in exaltation and great joy.

§220. Now when they saw afar off[18] Gregory coming with Awtay and many other men coming with them from Artašat, they ran to meet them, raving and eating their own flesh, possessed and foaming.*

* Mk. 9.19.

Greek Vg: 61. When they approached the city, the king's sister and as many as were sound of reasoning heard that he was alive. They were both astonished with Awtay, and also joyful that they would be relieved of the affliction that had befallen them.

Greek Vo: When the satraps and all the magnates learned that Gregory had arrived, they went out and awaited him in front of the city. On seeing him coming with Awtay and another large crowd following them from the town of Artašat, harrassed by the demons and eating their own flesh and tearing their garments, they began to run to meet him.

Arabic Va: And when the courtiers and the princes heard that the holy one had arrived, they went to meet him outside the city. When they saw him coming with Awtay and the large group of those who had followed him from the city of Artašat, they began to be pushed along by the demons, to eat their flesh, tear their garments, and run to meet him.

Syriac Vs: 142. Trdat also, the boar, came towards him from the thicket, bending his head to the ground and paying obeisance; likewise all his nobles, weeping before him.

§221. He immediately knelt in prayer, and they returned to sobriety. He then commanded that they cover their bodies with clothes and hide their shame. The king and the princes approached,

18. From afar off: *Ag, om.*

took hold of saint Gregory's feet and[19] said: "We beg you, forgive us the crime that we committed against you."

Greek Vg: 62. So with much splendour they rushed to meet the saint, and encountering him in front of the city they paid him obeisance. The king too, changed in aspect, drove towards the holy one. Likewise also all the magnates, harassed by the demons, willingly ran forward. At the feet of the saint they let out confused sounds, speaking at cross-purposes.

Greek Vo: The blessed Gregory knelt and prayed to God for them; immediately all of them, set free from the demons, were purified. Falling before him, with one accord all the healed royal officers and satraps and the whole crowd begged at his feet, saying: "Forgive us the injustice which we committed against you."

Arabic Va: But the blessed Gregory, kneeling down, prayed to God on their behalf, and immediately they found respite from the demons. He ordered them to put on their clothes. Then all those who had been cured of demons fell before him. Those from the palace and the princes and the rest of the people threw themselves in front of him, saying: "We beg you to forgive the wrong we inflicted on you."

Syriac Vs: 143. The martyr of Christ, the heroic lord Gregory, prayed and requested from God that he restore their senses to them, in order that they might understand and know what he was admonishing and instructing them, so they might become Christians and come to the knowledge of the truth. 144. After he had prayed, straightway their senses returned to them as before, and his mind came back to Trdat also as previously; and he spoke like a human; but his body and head remained like a boar's. He explained [his situation] and wept face to face with saint Gregory and entreated him.

§222. But he came forward and[20] raised them form the ground, saying: "I am a man like you,* and I have a body like yours. But do

19. *Ag*: + casting themselves on the ground.

20. Came forward and: *Ag, om.*

you recognize your creator,[21] who made heaven and earth, the sun and moon and stars, the sea and the dry land. He is able to heal you."

* Acts 10.26.

Greek Vg: 63. Saint Gregory, shedding copious tears and bewailing the error that had taken hold of them, knelt towards the east and prayed that they might be delivered from their misfortune, and being purified might come to recognition of the truth. They were all freed from the demons within an hour, and standing up whole and sound, fell upon him and begged that the terrible things they had inflicted on the saint might be forgiven them.

Vg now begins a long sermon. See the next chapter.

Greek Vo: The blessed one said to them: "I too am a man like you. But recognise the Creator of all who made heaven and earth, the sun, moon and stars, the sea and the dry land, and he will cure you."

Arabic Va: But the blessed one said to them: "I am a man like you. Now confess God as creator of heaven and earth, and of the sun, moon and stars, the dry land and the sea. And I shall ask him to have pity on you.

§223. Then Gregory began to ask them where the bodies of the martyrs had been placed. They said: "Of what martyrs are you speaking?" He replied: "Those who died at your hands for their God." Then they showed him the places. And he hastened to bring together their bodies from the places where they had been killed, for they were still lying there, and to enshroud them.[22] They saw that the power of God had preserved their bodies; for it was the ninth day and ninth night that their bodies had been lying outside, and no animal or dog had approached although they were around the city near to it, nor had any bird harmed them, nor did their bodies stink.*†

* Jn. 11.39.

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21. Your creator: *Ag, om.*

22. And to enshroud them: *Ag, om.*

† The miraculous preservation of martyrs' bodies in good condition is a common theme in hagiography; see Deonna, "Euodia," esp. 199, and references in Conybeare, *Apology of Apollonius*, 120. For an Armenian example cf. Ełišē, *History of Vardan*, 181, and cf. §747 below.

Greek Vo: 93. The blessed one said to them: "Where are the remains of the holy martyrs?" They responded, saying to him: "Of which martyrs do you speak?" And he said to them: "Those put to death in virginity by you for Christ's sake." They showed him the place; and running forward he collected their remains, which were still in the spot in which they had been martyred. When they saw [this], they were persuaded that the bodies of the saints had been preserved by God's power; for their remains had been lying for nine days and nights, yet neither beast nor bird had touched them, nor dog from the city, but one could see them lying on the ground as fresh as if from the good cheer of wine.

Arabic Va: 42. "However, tell me where the bodies of the holy martyrs are, and their bones." They said to him: "What martyrs are you seeking?" He said: "Those who for God's sake endured death from you in their virginity." Then they took him to show him the place. He went to them and collected their bodies where they had been martyred. For by the power of God the bodies of the holy ones had been preserved, and although they had lain [there] for nine days and nine nights, no wild animals at all, nor a dog or bird had approached them. Indeed in their freshness they resembled people made happy from the drinking of wine.

Syriac Vs: 145. The martyr of Christ, the champion Gregory, addressed him and said: "Where did you cast the bodies of those saints, the nuns, martyrs of Christ?" But they were astonished at this, and were amazed how a man left in the pit knew about the death of those holy ones. 146. Then they showed them, and they saw that the corpses, though thrown out, had been preserved and neither wild beasts nor birds had come near them. They praised God for this, and were confirmed in the faith. A sweet odour came from them like fine spices.

§224. Then they brought clean[23] clothes for shrouds. But the blessed Gregory did not consider the shrouds brought by the king worthy, nor those of the other people. But he wrapped each saint in her torn clothing. "For a while," he said, "until you are worthy to wrap their bodies." He enshrouded them, and took them to the vat-store where they had had their lodging, and he made it his own dwelling-place. Then the blessed Gregory prayed all night to God for the [Armenians'] salvation, and begged that they might be converted and be able to find a way to repentance.

Greek Vo: They brought costly garments, wishing to wrap them. But the blessed Gregory did not let them, thinking the clothing brought by the royal officers and satraps of the king unworthy. The ragged remnants of their clothing lying beside the holy ones, these he put on them for the moment; then gathering all the remains he conveyed them to the press, where from the beginning the holy virgins of God had lodged. The blessed one himself stayed there continuously. All that night he beseeched God, requesting salvation to be bestowed on his nation, so that by repentance they might gain healing.

Arabic Va: They brought fine garments of great value in order to clothe them; but the blessed Gregory disdained the clothes brought by the king and the nobles, nor did he wish any of them for them, but he wrapped them in the torn garments that were on them. Then he gathered all their bodies and brought them to the press where the virgins had lodged at the beginning. Nor did the holy one leave that place until he had prepared wooden caskets for them, and dug resting places in order to bury them together. For the whole of that night he prayed for the king's salvation and that of his people, that they might be purified ... in order to be cured by penitence.

Syriac Vs: 147. Gregory gathered their corpses together and did not allow any of them to approach them, saying: "You are not permitted to approach the bodies of these saints until you receive holy baptism." They brought to him royal clothing of finest quality for him to wrap them in, but he did not accept them. 148. The martyr of Christ, lord Gregory,

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23. Clean, *surb*: *Ag*, very costly.

gathered the bodies with his own hands, carried them and wrapped them in their own clothing, and placed them in the wine-press in which they had previously dwelt.

§225. In the morning the king and princes and the great magnates with the mass of the common people came in a crowd and knelt before saint Gregory and before the bones of God's[24] martyrs, and begged: "Forgive us all the evil crimes that we have committed against you. And ask your God on our behalf that we perish not."

Greek Vo: On the next day the royal officers and the satraps and magnates and all the people of the city came to saint Gregory, and fell down before him and the holy remains, requesting: "Forgive us all the injustice which we showed to you and the holy virgins, and beg your God that we not perish."

Arabic Va: The next day all the courtiers from among the nobles and magnates, and the rest of the inhabitants of the city came to the holy one, all together, and prostrating themselves before him and the saints' bodies, they said to him: "Forgive us that we sinned against you and the virgins, and request from your Lord that we perish not."

Syriac Vs: 149. All the nobles and the rest of the people and the king himself, who had become a boar, asked Gregory and said to him: 150. "Forgive us, lord, that we tortured you with those severe torments and that we cast you into perdition of our own accord. But God preserved you to become a saviour to us. And now, lord, beg your God on our behalf and restore the king to his former state, and we shall believe in your God."

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24. Bones of God's: *Ag, om.*

§226. Then the prisoner[1] Gregory began to speak: "The one you call 'your God' is God and creator, who in his almighty and willing benevolence has brought material creatures into being from immaterial nothing.*† The same ordered the earth to be established by his essential power from uncircumscribed, empty nothing. He who created everything is the almighty God, all-creative and Lord of all. Recognise him, in order that your pains from the punishment of your crimes may be healed.[2] Because of his benevolent mercy he warned you according to the saying of the divine Wisdom: 'Whom God loves he warns; he castigates the son for whom he cares.'* In his benevolence he summons you to adoption.*

* II Macc. 7.28, Rom. 4.17. * Prov. 3.12, 13.24, Heb. 12.6. * Eph. 1.5.

† Nothing: lit. "nowhere, *anustek'*." God's creative activity is expounded in greater detail in the *Teaching*, esp. 259-272. "Nothing" is normally rendered by *oč'inč*, as just below and §95 above.

Greek Vg: *Vg*, par. 64-75, gives a long sermon quite different from the text of *Aa* [§226-720]; the translation follows below, after §258. Cf. the Introduction, 13-24, for the different order of events in the *V* recension texts.

Greek Vo: 94. Saint Gregory began to speak to them: "The one you call my God, he is the all-powerful Creator who always desires the good for mankind, who made everything by a nod and brought into being from non-being the earth and all that is in it. He is the Lord of all. Recognise him so that the bruises from the evils that befell you may gain healing, [evils] through which as merciful and benevolent he chastised you, just as the holy scripture says: 'Whom the Lord loves he chastises; he whips

1. The prisoner: *Ag*, saint.

2. God ... healed: *Ag*, True God and all-powerful creator, of absolute will, beneficent, timeless, immaterial, without quantity, perfect in himself, who sustains material creatures through his eternal knowledge, and who established the world out of non-being. For God brought everything from non-existence into existence. So recognise him as Lord omnipotent in order that you may be healed from the punishment which came upon you from him.

every son that he accepts.' For as benevolent the Lord calls you to adoption.

Arabic Va: 43. Gregory said to them: "The one you call my God is the creator of the universe and its ruler. He desires life for his creation; for he created everything in the twinkling of an eye, and caused to exist what did not exist, the earth and what is above it. He is the Lord of all. Recognise him so that you may find respite from the ills that have befallen you. In the multitude of his mercy and benevolence he punished you, as scripture says: 'Whom the Lord loves, he chastises.' He castigates his sons, and draws them to him. In accordance with the abundance of his mercy he summons you to become his sons.

§227. "The true Son of God considers it no shame to call his brothers* those who will turn to the worship of the Father.[3] And the holy Spirit will grant you the pledge of his love,* and awaken your hearts to the joy which passes not away. But only if you turn and walk according to his desires will he give you immortal life.

* Heb. 2.11. * II Cor. 1.22.

Greek Vo: The Son of God, who did not reckon it shame to call all those who believe in him and worship him his brothers, will grant you through the holy Spirit the promise of his love, and make your hearts shine with a joy that never fades. For if you turn and walk in accordance with his will, he will give you immortal life.

Arabic Va: The Son of God is not ashamed to call us his brothers. And we summon all who may believe in him to worship him. He will give you the holy Spirit as the pledge of his love, and will illuminate your hearts with the joy that passes not away. If you turn and walk in accordance with his approval, he will give you eternal life.

§228. "In saying 'your God' you spoke well, because for those who recognise him he is their God.* But those who do not recognise him, even though they are his creatures, are estranged from his care and

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3. Of the Father: *Ag*, of him.

from his benevolent love. Those who fear him are near to him,* and his providence surrounds them and guards them.*

* Heb. 11.16. * Ps. 84.10. * Ps. 33.8.

Greek Vo: 95. "When you say 'your God,' you speak well, for he is God of those who know him. Those who do not know him, although they are his creatures, yet they are estranged from his love and benevolence. He is close to those who fear him, and his help embraces them and protects them.

Arabic Va: 44. "That you said he was my God was well said. Truly he is God to all those who recognise him. All who do not believe in him, although they are his creatures, are estranged from his love and mercy. But he is close to all who fear him and trust in him.

§229. "Perhaps you[4] will say:† 'Where does he guard his worshippers, for those who fell into our hands were tortured and killed, and we judged them[5] according to our own desires?' See that God desired the repose of death for men, and at his second coming in glory he will reveal* and give blessings to his beloved and to those who recognise him and do his will.

* Acts 3.20.

† Gregory now changes from addressing the Armenians in the plural to the singular, presumably indicating that he is speaking to Trdat. But in §231ff he reverts to the plural.

Greek Vo: But perhaps you will say: 'How did he protect those who fear him, because those who fell into our hands were punished and put to death, and we condemned them of our own will?' So learn why God wished the repose of death for men: so that at the coming of his glory he might reveal the blessings that he intends to give to those who love and know him and do his will.

Arabic Va: If you say: 'Why and how does he protect those who trust in him, since all those who fell into our hands have been killed with torture,

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4. You [sing. in *Aa*; Gregory addresses Trdat]: plural in *Ag*.

5. We judged them: *Ag*, we did to them.

and we did with them according to our own desires'—know that this is because God desired rest for man, so that at his coming he might rejoice, when he will reveal his blessings that he has prepared for those who love him and struggle in accordance with his will."

§230. "But see this, how by the power of his divinity[6] he kept firm his beloved holy martyrs; nor did many tribulations make a single one of them doubt.[7] And he saved the holy and blessed Rhipsime with her companions from your impurity and impiety.

Greek Vo: Know this also, how through the power of his divinity he preserved firm and steadfast his holy virgins; and how their many tribulations were unable to permit a single one of them to turn away from him; and how he preserved the holy Rhipsime with her companions unsullied from your corruption;

Arabic Va: In §230-715 the Arabic text [par 45-52, and 71] diverges from *Aa*. The translation follows §258 below.

§231. "Now the deceit of the enemy's machinations, which from the beginning beguiled and deceived men,* made them travellers on the path to destruction. Or [see] my unworthiness, and how by his benevolence he made me worthy and prepared me to suffer for his great name's sake. He gave me endurance to bring me to the heavenly inheritance, as the great apostle Paul said.* May you be able to recognise him and rejoice at his words through the benevolence of Christ: 'Blessed is he[8] who made us worthy to attain the portion of the inheritance† of the saints in light.'* And truly we have attained gloriously the cross of Christ, so that by the passion of Christ we may enjoy his will and his teaching.[9]

* Eph. 4.14. * Acts 26.18, Col. 1.12. * Acts 20.32, Eph. 1.18, Col. 1.12, Heb. 11.8.

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6. By the power of his divinity: *Ag*, by his own power.

7. Doubt: *Ag*, separate from him.

8. He: *Ag*, God.

9. Gloriously ... teaching: *Ag*, to become sharers of his boasts, so that sharing in the sufferings of Christ we may enjoy also his immortal glory.

† Portion of the inheritance. This conflate of Col. 1.12 with Heb. 11.8, Eph. 1.18, and Acts 20.32 is repeated in §718.

Greek Vo: and how even me, the unworthy one, through his innate goodness he rendered worthy to endure so many and such punishments for so long for the sake of his great name, so that he might vouchsafe to me heavenly inheritance, as the inspired apostle Paul said, which may we too obtain and through his word enjoy the blessings of Christ. So blessed is God, because he rendered us worthy of a share of the lot of the saints in light. For truly we have attained that, so that by sharing in the sufferings of our Saviour Jesus Christ we may enjoy also his immortal glory. *

* I Pet. 4.13.

§232. "So recognise him who called you from darkness[10] to the wonderful light of his glory.* Approach the throne of his grace, and you will obtain mercy from him.* Throw off every stain of evil impiety. Wash your souls with living water,* and you will become worthy to clothe your souls in robes of glorious light.*

* I Pet. 2.9. * Heb. 4.16. * Heb. 10.22. * Rom. 13.12.

Greek Vo: 96. So do you also recognise him, who called you to his wonderful light; and approach before the throne of his grace, so that you may find mercy from him. Therefore, casting off all wickedness, wash your hearts in living water, so that you may become worthy to clothe your souls in the garment of the light of glory.

Arabic Va: 63. So henceforth recognise the one who called you to his wonderful light that pertains to his divinity, in order that you may approach the throne of his grace and obtain mercy from him. Now cast off from yourselves ... every sin and impurity, and wash your hearts with the water of life so that you may merit the garment of light. Prepare yourselves.

§233. "As for the holy Rhipsime, you yourselves know how the Lord preserved her and saved her from your hands. And you

10. From darkness: *Ag, om.*

yourself know[11] the measure of the strength and firmness of your own bones,[12] how you became weakened in front of a single girl; for the power of the Lord of all,[13] Christ, preserved her. And as for me, you know that for fifteen years I have been in the dark and incredibly deep pit, dwelling amidst snakes.[14] Yet for fear of the Lord they never harmed me, nor was I terrified of them, nor was my heart dismayed, for I hoped in the Lord God the creator of all.*

* Ps. 26.3.

Greek Vo: As for saint Rhipsime, you have understood how the Lord protected her and saved her from your hand and from every impious plan of yours. The strength of your king Tiridates, which was so great among men, you know how a single girl destroyed through God's power. Likewise regarding myself, you know that I spent fifteen years in a dark and very deep pit, dwelling in the midst of snakes and scorpions, yet through fear of God neither the multitudes of poisonous beasts dared to do me any harm, nor was I ever afraid of them or my heart distraught, because I hoped in the Lord God the Creator of all.

Arabic Va: You know what happened to the holy Rhipsime, and how the Lord preserved her and saved her from your hands and from all impious impurity and from the violence of your king Trdat, she who is revered among men. You now know that by the power of God a single girl overcame him. Likewise in my case, you are aware that I remained for fifteen years in the deep and gloomy pit, and that I lived among snakes and vipers and scorpions. Yet because of my fear for my God those reptiles did not dare to attack me, nor did they harm me at all. I was not afraid of them, nor did my heart dread them, because I trusted in my Lord and my God, creator of the universe.

§234. "But this I know, that it was in ignorance that you did what you did.* Nevertheless, turn now and recognise the Lord,* so that he may have mercy on you and give you life. Call upon those whom you

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11. *Ag* [singular verb]: + O king.

12. The measure ... bones: *Ag*, your strength and prowess.

13. The Lord of all: *Ag*, her master.

14. *Ag*: + and scorpions; cf. Lk. 10.19.

killed, but who are alive,[15] as intercessors;† for they are alive and are not dead. *Recognise that God is Lord of all.[16] Abandon henceforth the foul worship of images of stone and wood, silver and gold and bronze, which are false and vain.

* Eph. 4.18. * Heb. 8.11.

† The martyrs as intercessors, as also §241. This is elaborated in the *Teaching*, §564, 572, 597, and Gregory's later sermon, §718.

Greek Vo: Likewise you know that whatever you inflicted on us you did in ignorance. Therefore turn away from the present and recognise the Lord, so that he may have mercy and save you. And appeal to those whom you slew as alive--for they have not died with God but live—so that they may supplicate compassionate God on your behalf. 97. Cast away the abominable worship of [idols] of stone, wood, silver, gold and bronze and of all sculpted [images], because they are false and useless.

Arabic Va: And I know that everything you had done to us was done through ignorance. Now turn and recognise the Lord so that he may have mercy and save you. And request those whom you killed as if they were not alive, since despite their death they are alive with God, that they pray for you; for he is a merciful God. 64. Cast off impurity from yourselves, that is the worship of stones and wood and gold and silver and bronze and everything to do with idols, for they are false and useless.

§235. "Did I not tell you earlier† about your error that a fog of thick and murky darkness has settled over the eyes of your heart,* so that you are unable to see, comprehend, consider or recognise the Creator. Now if I were to see in you some inclination to approach the divinity piously,[17] I would not cease to pray night and day on your behalf that you perish not. Through the great benevolence of the Creator towards his creatures, which is inscrutable and ineffable, he is long suffering in forgiving, pardoning, nourishing and caring because of his great mercy.

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15. *Ag* + in God; cf. Acts 17.28

16. Recognise ... all: *Ag*, Recognise God, for he is Lord of all.

17. The divinity piously: *Ag*, the worship of his divinity.

* Is. 60.2, Ez. 34.12.

† Earlier: cf. Gregory's attack on idolatry in §71ff., which was addressed to Trdat.

Greek Vo: Indeed, earlier we argued with you similarly concerning your going astray to them, because a gloomy darkness lay on the eyes of your minds, and you were unable to look up and see, to understand and know the Establisher and Creator of all. When I saw you alienating yourselves from worship of the true God, even though I was beset by very severe and terrible punishments, I did not cease by day and night begging God that your souls not be destroyed. For in the magnitude of his benevolence and his great forbearance,

Arabic Va: I advised you earlier about these useless things, that overwhelming darkness was upon your eyes, so that you could not discern and recognise the creator and wise omnipotent one. For I saw you departing from the worship of the true God, when I was in cruel and very painful torment, and I did not cease night and day beseeching God lest your souls perish.

§236. "From the first days he allowed men to walk according to their own wishes, as [scripture] says: 'I have permitted them to follow the wishes of their own hearts; and they went according to their own desires.'* But now he has begun to call you to his own glory and incorruptibility,[18]* for you to become heirs of the eternal life that passes not away.*

* Ps. 80.13. * II Tim. 1.10. * Tit. 3.7.

Greek Vo: from the foundation of the world he allowed mankind to walk according to his own will; but now he summons you to his glory and to eternal life.

Arabic Va: In his great kindness and love towards mankind and his forbearance he created men in the beginning to walk according to his will. And behold, now he summons you to his praise and eternal life.

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18. And incorruptibility: *Ag, om.*

§237. "For that reason he sent his beloved martyrs to you; who in their martyrdom bore witness to the consubstantial majesty of the Trinity, God with all and[19] above all, who exists for all eternity. His kingdom is an eternal kingdom, and of his rule there is no end.* They made their death a faithful and firm seal of the truth of their faith,* the account of which is now being related in your midst.[20] They are alive with God and intercede for those who commemorate[21] them.† We pray to have their intercession with God.[22] Because they died for God, they can turn the death of many into life.

* Ps. 47.15, 144.13. * Rom. 4.11.

† Those who commemorate them: *tawnolac'n.* Several manuscripts read *stac'olac'*, "those who acquire them," *tois dynamenois ktēsasthai autas* in *Ag*, the sense of which is not clear. [Were it not for this Armenian variant which could be rendered by the Greek *ktizō*, one would be tempted to suppose that the initial *iota* of *hiketeusasthai* had been lost, and the resulting form emended to the present reading; no variants are attested in *Ag*].

Greek Vo: For that reason he sent his holy martyrs to you, so that they might bear witness that he is the God over all, and his kingdom is an eternal kingdom, and his rule does not cease. And they set their own death as a seal of their true faith in God.

Arabic Va: Therefore he sent his holy ones to you to bear witness that he is the God of all and king of ages, and his dominion will not pass away. They chose death for the sake of the cross and their faith in the true God.

§238. "Therefore through them be reconciled to God by means of the death of the Son of God.* For the Son of God died to vivify the mortality of creatures,* whereas they died to become witnesses to his Godhead.[23] Not indeed that he was unable to give us life without dying himself, but in order to magnify the creatures by his own

19. With all and: *Ag, om.*

20. The account ... midst: *Ag, om.*

21. Commemorate: *Ag*, acquire.

22. We pray ... God: *Ag, om.*

23. *Ag*: + he suffered.

descent to humility, and to elevate the humble by his becoming like us.*†

* Rom. 5.10. * Rom. 8.11. * Heb. 2.17.

† Raising men to immortality. Cf. §160 above, and the *Teaching*, §590, 595, with the comments in Thomson, *Teaching II*, 24-25, "The Redemption of Mankind."

Greek Vo: 98. Through the advocacy of the holy ones, therefore, recognise God, because they were imitators of the death of the Son of God. The Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, died in order to give life to the death of men created by him; not as being unable apart from his own death to save man, but in order to raise up the race of mankind through his suffering.

Arabic Va: 65. So through the prayers of the saints recognise God and imitate in death the only Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for the sake of mankind whom he created by his own hand so that they might live—not because he was unable to save men without his own death, but so that by his sufferings he might raise up the sons of men.

§239.[24] "Not indeed that he could not be believed without their testimony,† but that those who loved him might magnify him. And he preserved our breath in our body, although there came upon us afflictions of bodily sufferings and terrible pains. We were tormented more than any other men. How was it possible for human bodily nature to endure for one day the fearful severity of those tortures? Or how could a man live for a single day in that terribly deep pit, in which I was buried amidst piles of snakes that swarmed around my body and wrapped themselves around me and crawled over my limbs? But the wonderful mercy of the Lord preserved me alive. And of what I was previously unworthy, behold we now labour among you to provide words of healing and profit for souls and bodies. We have been made the doctor[25] of your souls and bodies to offer you help.†

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24. *Ag*: + Furthermore they died.

25. We ... doctor: *Ag*, We are ready to work the ground.

† Testimony: *vkayut'iwn*, or "martyrdom." The Armenian takes on the double meaning of the Greek *martyria*.

† Doctor. This metaphor is often used of Christ [see Lampe, s.v. *iatros*, and the *Teaching*, §452, 565], and is applied to the prophets in the *Teaching*, §285.

Greek Vo: Even without the martyrdom of his holy champions he would have been able to be believed in as God; but he so ordained, wishing to make worthy of great crowns those who loved him unto death. So recognise from me with how many scourgings and cruel torments you punished me and cast me in such a pit, in which I was buried by the multitude of snakes and vipers; yet nonetheless the mercy of the Lord Christ which surpasses all understanding saved me from their midst. Furthermore, he made me worthy of the word of his message in order to bestow a saving remedy on your souls and bodies, so that on being healed you might know the true God.

Arabic Va: Without the martyrdom of the holy ones he could have proved that he was God, but he acted thus so that he might crown with great honour those who love him even unto death. So realise now that despite the blows and varied torments you inflicted on me, and afterwards cast me into the pit--and I lived with serpents and scorpions-- yet the mercy of my Lord Jesus Christ that surpasses all understanding saved me from their midst, and made me worthy to be [...], so that I might bestow on your souls and bodies the remedy of salvation, by which you might be saved and recognise the true God.

§240. "By the benevolence of God let us begin to nourish you with heavenly words.* For if you will listen to the word of justice, the message of the gospel and the commands[26] of the Creator of all, you will be delivered and cleansed from your minor punishment and you will enjoy eternal life. Heed the divine word, and you will receive in your souls the blessing of the kingdom of heaven.*

* Ez. 3.2. * Heb. 12.28.

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26. Of the gospel and the commands: *Ag, om.*

Greek Vo: 99. If then you hear the word of the ordinances of the Creator of all, you will be saved and enjoy eternal life and attain the heavenly kingdom.

Arabic Va: 66. Hear now the word of the holiness of the creator of all, and you will be saved and freed for ever and made worthy of the kingdom of heaven. For if you will be purified and cast away vain things, then you will merit blessings from God who loves mankind.

§241. "Only if you are cleansed of the unwilling[27] ignorance of your sins, from the worship of stones and wood, will you be able to receive in your souls the ineffable blessings of God. Then the holy martyrs of God, whom you tortured, will be able to offer intercession on your behalf. And our words and discourses and effort and labour will be sown as profit for you; they will let you enjoy on earth long and happy lives, and make you heirs in heaven to the life to come.[28]*

* Tit. 3.7.

Greek Vo: And if you purify yourselves, rejecting the abominations which you worshipped when in ignorance, you will receive the ineffable blessings from benevolent God. And the martyrs whom you subjected to the cruellest punishments and killed, they too giving thanks intercede for your salvation. Our preaching and instruction will be for you of the greatest advantage, and you will live long and enjoy all the blessings on earth, and with all this you will become heirs to the heavenly kingdom.

Arabic Va: Those saints whom you killed with cruel torture will themselves give thanks and pray for your salvation. From my preaching and teaching you will derive great benefit, and your life will be long; you will be filled with the bounty of the earth, and after all that you will inherit the kingdom of heaven.

§242. "But if you refuse to heed the preaching of the word of life, then he will strike and kill you with vengeful and cruel blows. He will

27. Unwilling: *Ag, om.*

28. The life to come: *Ag*, the future blessings and heavenly joys.

judge you by means of foreign enemies,† and taking revenge on you will surely bring you to death."

† Foreign enemies. Although this could be a general warning based on the Old Testament figure of punishment after backsliding, note the warning in the vision below, *Aa* §754, interpreted as a reference to the rebellion against Iran in 450-451.

Greek Vo: But if you do not wish to believe the preaching of our instruction, he will strike you with affliction worse than previously, and exact from you the just blood which you unjustly shed, and hand you over into the hands of foreign enemies, and slay you all with a cruel death."

Arabic Va: But if you do not receive my preaching and teaching, then even greater anger than the first time will come upon you, and he will claim from you the blood of the just ones that you unjustly shed, and he will deliver you into the hands of foreign enemies, and you will all perish with a cruel death."

§243. When the blessed Gregory had said all this, they all together put their hands to their collars† and[29] tore their garments.* The king and princes and the rest of the multitude of the populace[30] fell to the ground and rolled in ashes, and said together with one mouth: "So have we any hope of forgiveness from God, for we were lost in our ignorance on the path of darkness?* Can now these many sins of ours be forgiven?"

* I Macc. 4.39. * Eph. 4.18.

† Put their hands to their collars, *zjeṙs zawjiwk' arkeal*, a common Armenian expression for anguish.

Greek Vo: 100. As the blessed Gregory was instructing them in these things, each one of them, grasping his own garment, ripped it. And the satraps and all the magnates, sitting on ashes, said to the blessed one: "If then our hope is in God, why were we walking in error and travelling on paths of darkness? Will our many impieties be forgiven us?"

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29. Put ... and: *Ag, om.*

30. *Ag*: + sprinkled dust [on themselves].

Arabic Va: 67. While the blessed one was zealously instructing them in this, they rose up all together, placed their hands on their collars and rent their clothes. The nobles and magnates bent down and said to the blessed one: "Shall we really have salvation with God, when we wasted our days in impiety and walked in the path of shadows? Will he forgive us the multitude of our sins?"

§244. Gregory replied, saying: "God is benevolent, long-suffering and very merciful.* He is kind to all those who invoke him,* and he forgives[31] those who beseech him."

* Ps. 85.15, 102.8, 144.8. * Ps. 144.18.

Greek Vo: Gregory said to them: "Since God is benevolent and long-suffering and very merciful, he has compassion on all those who call upon him in truth, and he forgives their impieties to all who ask him with all their heart."

Arabic Va: Then Gregory said to them: "God is compassionate; he loves mankind, is long-suffering and his mercy is great; he has pity on all who turn to him in truth, and forgives the sin of whoever ask him with all their heart."

§245. Then they said: "Inform us and confirm our minds, so that we may be able to appeal to the face of our Creator whom we did not know,[32] if he will turn and accept our repentance, and if there is still opportunity for conversion. Or has he not already cut off our hope of life?* Do you not remember the crimes[33] which we did to you, and will you give us true teaching, and not hold rancour against us nor regard us with antipathy[34] nor hinder us from the true road?"

* Eph. 4.19.

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31. Forgives: *Ag*, rewards; cf. Heb. 11.6.
32. Whom we did not know: *Ag, om.*
33. The crimes: *Ag*, all the things.
34. Hold rancour ... antipathy: *Ag*, hate.

Greek Vo: With groans they began to say: "Make known to us and strengthen our minds, how we may know the true God who made us [...] repenting; and if there is still space for repentance for us, and the hope of life will not be taken from us; and if, although remembering our former impieties, he will [not] destroy us for our sins, but save us in his great mercy; and also if he will forgive and give us good instruction and set us on his true and righteous path."

Arabic Va: With tears they said: "Teach us and strengthen our minds so that we may know God our creator. If he loves mankind, he will receive us in penitence, if indeed there is in us a place for penitence, nor will he blame us that we relied on our lives, nor will he remember our previous sins; otherwise, he will destroy us for our offences. However, his great mercy will save us. Likewise, he will pardon us and teach us goodness, and set us on the path of truth."

§246. All the populace raised a cry from weeping, and the king too, and they all fell and rolled before him.* They could not bear to be separated from him, even for a moment, because of the wrath of the terrible torments inflicted by the demons. For if they ever went anywhere away from him, then the demons pounced on them and made them mad, so that the people ate their own flesh with their own teeth.[35]

* III Macc. 5.28.

Greek Vo: Saying this to the holy one, they raised their voices and wept, rolling at his feet. They did not dare to stand even a short distance away from him because of the scourge of the demons and the blows inflicted by them; for if they tried to separate from him even a little, the impure demons fell on them again and caused them to eat their own flesh.

Arabic Va: With such words they addressed the holy one, and raised their voices with tears, throwing themselves at his feet. Nor did they dare to depart one step away from him because of the wounds of the demons and the distress inflicted on them by the enemy; for when they moved

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35. With their own teeth: *Ag, om.*

away from him even a little, the demons entered them and forced them to eat their own flesh.

§247. When saint Gregory heard all these words that they had spoken before him, he burst into tears and said to them: "You yourselves know all the crimes which you did to me. How could a man endure so many tortures, or be able to bear for even one hour the mere sight of a snake from afar, let alone[36] dwell in the midst of a mass of snakes for fifteen years† and survive unscathed, and continue to live among them?

† Fifteen years; cf. above §122, 215.

Greek Vo: 101. When the most holy Gregory heard all their words that they addressed to him, he began with tears to speak to them: "You yourselves know all the evils that you showed towards me, that you inflicted on me the severest punishment as on a murderer. But that I wronged none of you, that also you know. No man is able to endure even for a little the sight of so many and such serpents; but you cast me in the midst of them for fifteen years, yet I remained unharmed by them through the grace of my Lord Jesus Christ.

Arabic Va: 68. Now when saint Gregory heard their speech to him, he wept and said to them: "You know what you did with me, and how you tortured me with various torments like a murderer, although I had harmed none of you. Yet although many people had been unable to endure a single hour with those serpents, you left me with them for fifteen years. But by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ I escaped intact from them without harm.

§248. "So in this first of all you see the power of the Creator. He who made everything just as he wished, whenever he wishes can change each thing's character; for he mollified those harmful and poisonous animals that were in the terrible pit with me, his unworthy servant. Although we were unworthy, nonetheless he preserved us for your benefit and revealed the power of his miracles, in order that by preserving us and bringing us to the task of your education and

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36. Bear ... alone: *Ag, om.*

your benefit, the benevolence of God towards you might be fulfilled through us.

Greek Vo: From that, therefore, recognise the power of God, that as Creator he is able to change the minds of all. Hence he tamed the poisonous snakes in the very deep pit for me, his servant. Although I am unworthy of such benevolence of his, yet for the sake of your salvation and recognition of him I was preserved, so that through my preaching you might know his great miracles.

Arabic Va: So from this miracle recognise the power of my God; for he is the creator who is able to turn the minds of all, just as he turned away from me the evil of those serpents who were in the deep pit and were tame towards his servant. Although I was unworthy of his great mercy, yet I was saved for the sake of your salvation, so that you might know him through me, and through my teaching might recognise the multitude of his miracles.

§249. "Was it really possible for a single young girl to resist a giant, as you saw with your own eyes? How could this have happened, unless God had given the right of victory to save his martyrs without spot from your iniquitous impiety? So now, on account of[37] the death of those blessed saints, whose blood was shed in your land and who became worthy of divine grace and were sacrificed,[38] therefore[39]† you have been visited and this land of Armenia has been sought out. Because of the shedding of their just blood, you are granted propitiation by the all-bountiful God through this repentance of yours.

† Therefore, *vasn oroy* [lit. "because of which" in the singular, no variant attested]. *Ag* has a plural, i.e. through them [the martyrs].

§250. "As for me, was I a preacher to you not by God's command, but at my own decision? How could this be?[40] Did I really have the

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37. On account of: *Ag*, concerning.

38. *Ag*: + what can one say?

39. Therefore: *Ag*, through them.

40. How could this be: *Ag*, *om*.

power to hide anything from you, especially if I had been commanded by God? For in the deep pit every day I saw a vision with eyes wide open, just as I see now the same vision, saying: 'Be of good cheer, be firm;[41] for the Lord God has preserved you and considered you worthy of his service. He has entrusted you with the task of his labour, that you and the other labourers may enter and receive the reward of the incorruptible gifts of Christ.'[42]*

* Mt. ch. 20.

Greek Vo: 102. "I am unable not to explain to you everything that I was commanded by the Lord to announce to you. For while I was still in the pit, on each [day] I saw in a vision his angels encouraging me, just as now I see his angels saying to me: 'Be a man and be strong, because the Lord God has saved you and made you worthy to be a herald of his word. He has given you the task of his ministry, so that you too with all his servants may receive the reward.'

Arabic Va: 69. "So now I must show you what the Lord commanded me. While I was in the pit I saw continually a vision, and I saw his angels encouraging me, as now I see angels continually saying to me: 'Be strong, be firm, because the Lord God saved you and made you worthy to preach his word. And to you he gave the knowledge to praise him, so that you might receive the reward with those who praise him.'

§251. "You threw me into the deep pit, that fearful place of death, from which by the will of God I emerged safe and sound. I say this not in order to boast of myself, but because it is impossible to hide God's miracles. They are not to be hidden but related;* for he saved me from death, though in your eyes I was considered dead, as you yourselves bear me witness.[43] And you who were dead in your sins,* behold now, though dead, through this dead one are brought back to life. For I was entrusted with telling you of the commands of God, to convert you back to right belief, to the path of truth and away from the vanity of idolatry, from images of stone, wood, silver or bronze,

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41. Be of good cheer, be firm: *Ag, om.*

42. The incorruptible gifts of Christ: *Ag, om.*

43. *Ag*: + for I had been put to death by you.

which are nothing and of no use to anyone; for you to turn† towards the living God who created heaven and earth and the sea[44] and everything that is in them, and to his Word, the only-begotten Son, and to the living[45] and vivifying Spirit, the purifier and expiator of those who worship and glorify him.

* Tobit 12.7. * Eph. 2.1, Col. 2.13.

† For you to turn. Here *Aa* has *dar̆nal*, which is intransitive, not the causative "to convert," *darjuc'anel,* as just above. *Ag*, *epistrepsai*, is active.

Greek Vo: I say these things, not as boasting in myself, but because God's wonders cannot be hidden. I am explaining how he rescued me from such a death, since for you I was dead just as you yourselves bear witness. And behold, you who were dead through sin have become alive through me, the one thought dead by you. 103. I was commanded by the Lord to announce to you all his great wonders, so that turning you away from the vain worship of idols, I might bring you by his grace to the path of truth and to the living God, who made heaven and earth and everything in them, and his only-begotten Son, and the holy Spirit who gives life to all things, so that by repentance you might become worthy to enjoy the blessings promised by him.

Arabic Va: This discourse of mine is not so that I might boast; but I cannot hide the wonders of the Lord in announcing to you that he saved me from death, since with you I was as if dead, as you yourselves testified to me. And just as you were dead by sin, so you live through me who was with you as if dead. 70. The Lord commanded me to expound all these great wonders to you, so that I might turn you away from the worship of useless idols, and draw you to his bounty in the way of truth and to the living God, creator of heaven and earth and of everything in them, and his only Son and the holy Spirit who gives life to all, so that by penitence you might merit the prepared blessings.

§252. "If we see you turning towards the divinity with prompt readiness, we shall with good-will begin to expound to you the creation:† how this good world was created by the benevolent one,

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44. And the sea: *Ag, om.*

45. The living: *Ag*, his eternal.

how the orders[46] of this world were arranged. Some men willingly fulfilled for God his good pleasure,[47]* whereas those who did evil were punished here on earth. [I shall expound] how the Son of God came in the flesh to the world[48] in humility; how he will come at the end in the same body and in the glory of the Father; and about the blessings to be and the future judgment. And how for the present we must walk following the commandments according to God's will; how to find repentance and through it the forgiveness of sins; how to expiate those who sinned through ignorance;[49] and according to the will of God to flee from evil, do good works, and attain the promised blessings; how one must walk in the paths of God. All this in its proper order I shall narrate one by one, with unwearying tongue and tireless mouth, so that the Lord in his benevolence may receive your repentance, and that you may be made worthy to enter into the grace of his loving kindness through our Lord Jesus Christ.

* II Thess. 1.11.

† We shall begin to expound. In the following paragraphs Gregory summarises the themes of the long catechism to follow, i.e. the *Teaching*. See the list, "Main Themes of the Teaching," in Thomson, *Teaching II*, 266-267.

§253. "We shall begin from the beginning and start by showing you the creation of the world, the gracious blessings from the benevolent one, if you desire to attend sincerely and believe. But at the very beginning we shall tell you of the one great and only benevolent one, and then of all the things created by him. We shall strive to complete everything for the profit of your instruction, following the divine command. We considered it of great importance to conduct our discourse about him in suitable and appropriate terms, since we are speaking about the deity; for we know that he is the true God.*

* I Jn. 5.20.

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46. Orders, *kargk'*, *or* arrangement: *Ag*, management, *diagōgē*.

47. *Ag*: + and of their own choices were perfected towards God.

48. To the world: *Ag, om.*

49. In ignorance: *Ag, om.*

§254. "Not that anyone could speak about his incomprehensible nature or expound how he is, because he is incomprehensible, infinite, uncircumscribed, and inscrutable. He cannot be approached or understood by any created beings; he is invisible to sight, yet near to all through his care and providential mercy and benevolent grace. He has never been seen by mortal or bodily creatures, not even by the spiritual and fiery watchers.† He alone is glorified by all creatures, because everything is from him, save he alone in his essence.[50]

† Watchers: *zuart'unk'*, lit. "vigilant ones," a common Armenian term for angels, as in the *Teaching*, §262; cf. also below in the note to §733.

§255. "But righteous men who were made worthy to know his creation,[51] and who reverently obeyed his will and fulfilled his commandments,[52] were called prophets, proclaiming the eternal and divine life,[53] in the first ages by the pious race of Hebrews, the seed of Abraham. He was chosen for his piety and called 'the father of all races,'* so that he might sit at the head of all for faith and righteousness, and by the boast of being the first believer was rightly named 'father.'[54]† Likewise, the generations born from him were called the first and special people.*†

* Gen. 17.4. * Ex. 19.5, Tit. 2.14.

† Rightly named father. *Ag* renders the adverb *ardarew* [no variants attested] as *dikaiotatos*, "most righteous."

† Special people, *sephakan žołovurd*, i.e. the descendants of Abraham. In the *Teaching*, §580, they are called "God's own [*jeṙakan*] people."

§256. "Among them the prophets arose like luminaries* through God's shining words; they were made worthy of the Spirit's divine grace to teach everyone the laws of God. Everywhere they expounded his will and his right order of heavenly commandments,

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50. Save he ... essence: *Ag*, and he alone is the existent one [*ho ōn*].

51. *Ag*: + and to worship him.

52. And fulfilled his commandments: *Ag*, and shone out divinely through a most virtuous life.

53. Proclaiming ... life: *Ag, om.*

54. Rightly named father: *Ag*, named most righteous father; *see* note.

just as their prophetic books truly narrate. In their course to the end, for the profit of everyone they filled the world with ordained readings, showing forth[55] the tenor of their prophetic and divine words, so that all who submitted to their words might be able to see God face to face,* according to his providence.[56]

* Phil. 2.15. * I Cor. 13.12.

§257. "Now among the saintly and pious bands of prophets there arose one great prophet called Moses. He was made worthy of divine grace, and began teaching about the time of the first creation; by his prophecy and description of the world he handed down to everyone true knowledge.[57]† Similarly, we shall begin by the omniscient grace of the Spirit to undertake your instruction, taking note of the two worlds created by benevolent God, of the beginning and the end, of this transitory one and the eternal everlasting one. May words be placed in our mouth for us to indicate what is profitable.† It is for you to listen, to receive and to believe, to break away from the wickedness of your satanic deeds and to become heirs of divine life.[58]

† Moses as expounder of creation: see the *Teaching*, §311. Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, I 1, stresses Moses' knowledge of "the realities, *ta onta*," ["the greatest and most wonderful things" in the Armenian version, 3] that he acquired during his forty years of contemplation before being commissioned by God [Ex. ch. 3] to lead his people out of Egypt. Vardan Arewelc'i, who begins his *Historical Compilation* with a description of the physical world, stresses that not only did Moses understand the essence of God [and the Trinity], he also was responsible for expounding the nature of the world in Genesis.

† What is profitable, *awgut*, *ōphelia* in *Ag*, lit. "help, assistance." It is used frequently by Agathangelos to indicate what is spiritually profitable.

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55. *Ag*: + to every reader.

56. All who ... providence: *Ag*, those blessed ones seemed to be seen face to face.

57. About ... knowledge: *Ag*, everyone; for that greatest of the prophets had received true knowledge from God, and expounded the creation of the world.

58. Life: *Ag*, training, *gymnasia*.

§258. "So let us begin by the grace of Christ to relate to you in order with detailed indications. And do you attend and sincerely pay heed."

[§259-715: *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*]

For the translation of the Armenian text of the *Teaching of Saint Gregory* see the separate volume s.v. *Armenian Texts*. This section is not found in the Greek translation *Ag*. However, the Greek version *Vo*, the Arabic *Va*, and the Syriac *Vs* have some parallels. The text of Gregory's sermon in this and the preceding section, where it differs from *Aa*, is given here:

Greek Vg: 64. The holy one said to them: "I rejoice at what was done to me by you, for you have become kindred to me [in] the incorruptible blessings. But heed God, who made heaven and earth and adorned the two luminaries: the sun with authority over the day, and the moon which runs its nightly course. He embroidered [heaven] with shining stars. He made earth and the sea—the earth to bring forth her growth in fruitful trees and varied flowers and plants, and the sea that produces different swimming [creatures]. 65. Everything came into being at a single command of the Father and Son and holy Spirit, one acting in all. So see the beauty of heaven and its magnitude; and the earth that brings forth nourishment for men and beasts; and the sea that provides benefit to all from its own fish. For God, and the Son of God and light from light, who made everything, gave enjoyment to men in these and [allowed] them to recognise their maker and living God, creator and provider of blessings, benefactor and benevolent. But you were ignorant of him, and went astray by sacrificing to idols made by hands and doing evil to those who revere the ever-living God. 66. Recognise now how great is the power of God, who saved us from every punishment and gave [us] strength to trample lions and serpents. I do not boast of these things puffed up in my own glory, but in order to reveal God's glory and power to you. Look upon those holy maidens, how much they endured at your hands. They did not abandon their hope and love for Christ; neither does a sword separate us from the love of Christ, according to holy scripture."* 67. As they all listened to him speaking thus, they bewailed the past schemes they had enacted. Each one shed tears at the feet of the holy one, and they begged that the king might obtain healing; for he had been transformed and had lost human [form]. Then the holy one prayed for*

the king, and also cured everyone; he delivered him from his shameful punishment, for his mind was restored to its original state. 68. Saint Gregory began his teaching, saying: "The exposition of the divinely-inspired scriptures is training to despise earthly things, and to raise one's mind to things divine and superior; then through the purified mind to distinguish things divine and human, and to keep the soul uninfluenced by the Devil's onslaught. 69. Let us begin our exposition from the Godhead, not thinking ourselves worthy to investigate those profundities and to expound them, save that God empowers our weakness. For God, who as a lover of mankind is anxious to turn us away from the error of idols to knowledge of God, provides me with the power of speech and instruction in order to reveal the truth to you. He who saved me from such and so many harsh punishments, as you know, and who preserved me in the pit without a touch from the beasts crawling there for fifteen years, will grant me this service—to ground you in the Christian faith, removed from the abominable and sculpted [idols] which up to now have led you astray. 70. Have you realised their vain hope and your own salvation? Behold, they are weak, but we by striving in the hope of God have been saved. I have spoken to you in order to guide you to the true path. You know how the holy virgins have attained immortality, delivered from these [earthly] things, and put to death by your swords. 71. He alone is God, always existing and filling everything, as scripture says: 'The earth and its fullness are the Lord's.' The Father is God, and the Word, the only-begotten Son of God, is also God, who is in him and always with him, through whom everything was made, and without him nothing was made, just as the theologian John declares: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning [...]. Everything was made through him, and without him nothing was made.'* 72. Him, therefore, we worship and him we praise, the Father and Son and holy Spirit in one being and three hypostases. Thus we preach, and we pray that you be thus firmly grounded to worship the Trinity in a single divine being. 73. You must not surrender your reason to the elements of the world; for God, who made and created everything, is one. Hear the word of the wise man and prophet, who was himself an eye-witness of God's glory, Moses, who said as follows: 'In the beginning God made heaven and earth. The earth was invisible and unformed, and the spirit was carried above the waters.'* 74. God created with the Son, Word and God; the Spirit gave birth and warmth to subsistent things. He made in heaven two*

luminaries, adorning it with the varied lights of the stars, allowing the days and nights to be illuminated by them, and setting signs for the seasons of the years: winter, summer, spring, autumn. He established this heaven, creating also celestial powers of angels, archangels, cherubim, seraphim, who minister to the glory of the Godhead. 75. Similarly he variously adorned the earth with mountains, hills, ravines, rocks, trees fruit-bearing and unfruitful, meadows, plants, diverse flowers—all produced for the enjoyment of men. Likewise too he created the sea in a gathering of waters and named it 'sea.' He ordained that it should not exceed its prescribed places, and that in it through the skill appointed for men they should be carried in ships. Navigation was created for men, some of whom hastened to the land of India in order to provide valuable things for those who desire wealth [and others ... Egypt], for the subsistence of those who sent them. He subjected everything to mankind, imparting a share of his own wisdom to everyone, so that as God made man and loved him, the latter might be placed within the divine benevolence."

* Lk. 10.19. * Rom. 8.35. * Ps. 23.1. * Jn. 1.1-3. * Gen. 1.1-2.

Greek Vo [Aa §652]: 104. "So look towards the great herald of repentance, John; how with a loud voice he addressed the race of Abraham, saying: 'Make fruit worthy of repentance, and do not say: We have a father Abraham. For I say to you that God is able from these stones to raise up children for Abraham.' He said this, not removing Abraham from honour, but calling them to repentance and urging them through good works to become worthy children for Abraham. For those who bear fruit he keeps safe and makes shine, but the fruit [...] nothing else than he dries out and gives up to fire. 105. [§653] Pay attention, therefore, to the parable of the fig-tree and understand: 'The Lord came, says [scripture], to the fig-tree in order to find fruit on it, and he found none because it was not the season for its fruit. And he cursed it and said: From now on let no one taste fruit from you.'* So if all plants in their own time bud and flower and give fruit, why was this one cursed before its budding? It was not the season of its fruit. Could not he who commanded by a word all fruit-bearing plants to sprout on earth, and the multitudes of cedars and all grass to grow seed according to its kind,* also make the fig-tree at that time have its fruit? [§654] But for this reason he said: 'From the fig-tree learn the parable,'* because that fig-tree became dry as an example [typos] of unfruitful men, in order that we*

might know that he dries up like the fig-tree those who do not have the fruit of righteousness. For the season of men is to bear fruit for God at all times. Neither did it know at what hour the farmer would request its fruit from it. Hear the great prophet and forerunner and teacher John, what he says: 'Behold the axe lies at the root of the trees; every tree not producing good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire,' just as the prophet says: 'Sinners will be like thorns falling into fire and burning.'* He makes the fruitful shine in his kingdom with light in the coming spring to the one that has its fruits ready, and gives to one a hundred, to another sixty, to another thirty—that is, the gift of the recompense of men's toil in accordance with the proportion of each one's faith."*

* Mt. 3.8-9, Lk. 3.8. * Mt. 21.19, Mk. 11.13-14. * Gen. 1.11-12. * Mt. 24.32. * Mt. 3.10. * Is. 33.13.

Arabic Va: 45. When he had finished this speech, he began to instruct them and to tell them what was in the holy books: that man should despise these earthly things and raise his mind to heavenly things. "When his mind has been purified, he knows things celestial and terrestrial; and by preserving his soul from war with the demons he receives things divine. 46. For our words are true, and let us investigate their profundity and teach you. God strengthens our weakness, because the Lord, whose mercy is great, wishes to turn you away from the worship of images by knowledge of himself; and he inspires me with his words and teaching in order that we may make the truth known to you. He who saved me from those powerful ones and much torment, and who preserved me in the pit without harm from the reptiles in it for fifteen years, he also gave me this duty, that I should ground you in the Christian religion and turn you away from the worship of idols that up to this point seduced you. 47. Have you realised your trust in things which are of no benefit to you at all? I have taught you that you are saved by us, because mortal things pass away. But we through our trust in God accepted torture and emerged unscathed. I have been saved so that I might teach you the path of truth. And those virgins, who departed this world and were killed by your swords, have inherited eternal life for the sake of the only God, who exists before ages. 48. He is omnipotent [lit. master of all], as scripture says: 'The earth is the Lord's in its entirety.' The Father is God, and his only Word the Son is of God. God is in him without end, and is in him from the beginning. Through him everything was made, and without him nothing was made, as John the theologian*

declared: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, and without him nothing was made.' 49. Him we worship and him we praise, Father, Son and holy Spirit, sole God and sole law, one perfect in three persons [aqānīm]. Him I preach and teach to you, and we pray for you that your faith may be sound. Worship the Trinity, which is one substance, God of all. 50. Do not give your minds over to things in the world. God is one, creator and establisher of all things through the Son and his Word; and through the holy Spirit he gives life to all things. Hear the word from the wise prophet who saw the glory of God, namely the prophet Moses, how he said: 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth; but the earth was invisible, and the heaven was not distinct, and the Spirit of God was carried over the waters.'* 51. God created through his Word and his divinity; and the Spirit gives life and causes it to flourish. He created heaven and the two great luminaries, and he adorned it with stars to shine by day and night on those observing it. And [he created] the wonders of the seasons and years, of summer and winter, spring and autumn; he established heaven. By his power he commanded and created angels and archangels and cherubim and seraphim, who glorify the majesty of his divinity. 52. He stretched out the earth and adorned it with mountains and hills and valleys, and stones and trees fruit-bearing and not-fruit-bearing, and meadows and all plants and varied flowers in diverse colours. He created all that for the comfort of mankind. Likewise he created the sea by gathering the waters, and he called it 'sea,' and ordered it not to exceed its boundary. He did this because of the wisdom he had bestowed on man, that he should construct ships and men should travel on the seas—some going to the land of India to bring thence valuable things for all those desiring riches, and others departing for Egypt to bring food to the one by whom they were sent, wandering here and there until men were sated. All these things he gave to men, so that others might learn through his wisdom. For God, just as he created man and glorified him, [arranged] that they might approach his divinity by serving him.*

* Ps. 23.1. * Jn. 1.1-3. * Gen. 1.1-2.

Arabic Va [Aa §652]: 71. Regard now the great preacher John, who in a loud voice addressed the people of Abraham and spoke to them, saying: 'Produce fruit worthy of penitence, and do not say: Abraham is our father. I say to you that God is able to raise progeny for Abraham from stones.' He said this not denying the respect due Abraham, but in order*

to bring them to penitence; and he was seeking that they might become offspring of Abraham through good works. Truly he will renew everyone who produces good fruit and will grant him a fine reward. But all those who do not produce good fruit will have no reward, but he will make them sterile and as fodder for the fire, [§654] just as the prophet Isaiah said: 'Sinners will be like the thorn that falls into the fire and is burned up.' But all who produce good fruit he will make happy in his kingdom and will fill with light at his second coming. To all those who will have prepared good fruit he will repay, as he said, thirty for one, or sixty, or a hundred. The reward of each one's works is in accordance with his faith."*

* Mt. 3.8-9, Lk. 3.8. * Is. 33.13.

Syriac Vs: 152. He took them from the beginning of the world: [Aa §259] How God had created heaven and earth and everything that is in them, things visible and invisible; [§278] and how when he created Adam the Devil was envious of him, and through his advice he was expelled from Paradise; and how Adam offered penitence for the sin he had committed. 153. [§295-296] How again after sin increased in the days of Noah, God sent a flood and destroyed all mankind and everything that is visible, except for Noah and his people and those whom God had commanded to enter with him into the ark; and God preserved him at that time from punishment. 154. [§297] How again after further time, when men had again increased, they took thought and built for themselves a high tower so that they might be saved in it from punishment; and how God confused their tongues and scattered them over the whole earth. 155. [§284, 316] Furthermore, how men introduced paganism into the world, and exchanged the Creator of all for sculpted idols, the work of men's hand, and everything similar. 156. [§318] How God in his mercy sent to them prophets to preach to them the road of life, and they might return to him; and he worked great and splendid miracles through the prophets, so that they might recognise him and know that he is the Creator of all. 157. [§342] How he indicated to the prophets the coming of his only-begotten Son, who is with him from everlasting, and through whom he created all things visible and all things invisible; and he is his wisdom and power and form and image, and the radiance of his glory. 158. [§364, 373] He announced him through the prophets to the whole world, that he would come to shine forth in creation, and that he would become man from a virgin without intercourse, and would endure sufferings, crucifixion and

death, through which he would kill sin, Satan and death. 159. He would rise from the dead and redeem mankind, and rise up to him who sent him, taking up with him the first-fruits of our bodies; and he would sit on the right hand of the Father—the same who fulfilled the words of the prophets who prophesied concerning him; and he confirmed their sayings. 160. [§419] First Gabriel announced concerning his conception to the holy virgin Mary from the house of David; and he was incarnate ['tgšm] from the holy Spirit and from the pure virgin Mary. He was born from her by a miracle, in that the seals of her virginity were preserved; [§377-378] yet he remained what he was before, God without change or alteration or confusion or mixture, one and the same God and man in a unity that is full of wonder. 161. [§391] He became an infant and sucked milk, and was wrapped in swaddling clothes; and he was placed in a manger, although heaven and earth were filled by him and he ruled everything with his Begetter. 162. [§394] Angels descended and announced his birth to the shepherds, saying: "There is born for you a Saviour, who is the Lord Christ, in the city of David." And they praised him and said: "Glory to God in the heights, and on earth peace, and good hope to mankind."* 163. The shepherds came and saw him in the manger wrapped in swaddling bands; and they rejoiced and praised God. 164. [§400] Furthermore, he sent the star and guided the magi of Persia. They brought him presents: gold, and myrrh and incense. They offered three gifts in which a mystery was hidden. Through gold they indicated his power over everything, through myrrh his vivifying death, and through incense that he is God from everlasting. 165. [§401] Then he was circumcised according to the law, and they brought him to the temple and made offerings on his behalf. He increased in all the stages of growth. He observed the law which previously he had given to Moses his servant, and freed us from the curses in it. 166. [§408] When he reached the age of thirty years, he was baptised by the hands of John the herald, whom he had sent before his coming. Not that he was in need of it, but in order to purify for us the waters by his baptism, and to give us a model and first fruits of adoption. 167. [§418] When he was baptised and came up from the water, the heavens were opened for him and there was a voice that said: "This is my beloved Son in whom I am pleased."* The Spirit descended in the bodily form of a dove, and settled on him. And although [the Spirit] was in him naturally, yet he received him, he who previously had abandoned us because of the transgression of the commandment. 168. [§422] The mystery of the Trinity was revealed to us*

through the voice of the Father and the baptism of the Son and the descent of the Spirit. John testified concerning him, saying: "Behold the lamb of God, who took on the sin of the world." 169. He was tempted by Satan, but conquered him and gave us victory over him. [§453] He performed miracles and wonders: when he raised the dead, and purified lepers, and healed paralytics, and opened [the eyes of] the blind, and healed the sick, and changed water into good wine. 170. He satisfied crowds of people with a little bread; they ate and had left over. He drove out demons and expelled evil spirits. He made the deaf and dumb hear, and gave speech to the dumb. 171. [§457] He chose twelve apostles, straight-forward and simple men, and gave them authority over all the power of the Enemy. He ordered them not to possess anything: neither gold nor silver, nor two tunics, and neither sandals nor staffs. 172. And these apostles also did great miracles in his name. He went about among men, teaching and showing the path of life and preaching the kingdom of heaven. 173. [§473] But in return for these blessings they repaid evil things. They handed him over to sentence of death, and crucified him on a wooden [cross] and placed him in a tomb. 174. [§474-479] When he was raised on the cross, the curtain of the temple was rent, and the rocks gave out a cry, and there was darkness in the whole land. Even the dead arose and were seen by many. 175. By his death he killed death and Satan; and by his death he made death dead and abrogated his authority over us, for by his own will he bent his head and surrendered his spirit. 176. After he had died, they pierced his side with a spear, and blood and water flowed from it. And it was known that he was God and man, living and dead. 177. [§368] He went down to Sheol and destroyed its treasures. He gave life to the dead, and saved those who were lying there. And those who recognised that he was God he brought with the soul of the robber to Paradise. 178. [§483-488] After three days he rose from among the dead, and appeared to his disciples many times. He was touched by them, and he ate and drank with them. And after his resurrection he remained in the world for forty days. 179. [§496] Then, while his disciples were watching, he rose up to heaven in the body to which he was united, as he knows; and he sat at the right hand of him who sent him. 180. He will come again to judge the living and the dead. He was for us the first-fruits of those asleep, and the father of the world to come. 181. [§499] Ten days after his ascension, as he had promised to his disciples, he sent them the holy Spirit, the Paraclete. When he descended on them he rested on each one of them, and they began to*

speak in different tongues. 182. [§685] When they were armed with the strength of the holy Spirit, they went out to preach the gospel of our Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ. They taught all nations, and baptised them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit. 183. They expelled demons from men, and cured the sick, purified lepers, and healed paralytics; they raised the dead, and performed great miracles. They destroyed† *the idols, and illuminated the world with their divine teaching. 184. They carried in their hands the sign of the Cross. In it they gloried, and conquered every error of the Devil. They endured tribulations and torments for love of Christ. 185. Gladly they ran to encounter death from persecutors, imitating Christ their Lord, the founder of a new and spiritual struggle. 186. Although these apostles were killed, yet by their deaths they became steadfast preachers of the faith and an example to those who followed in their footsteps. God gave them endurance for the sufferings and torments and tortures that persecutors inflicted on them, 187. so that demons might be shamed and persecutors understand the power of God that dwells in his saints; and from the struggles of the holy martyrs they might know that there is a God, so that they did not endure in vain. 188. But now, my beloved, if you turn towards merciful God with all your heart, and you promise before him to serve him in purity and holiness; and at all times you offer supplications for your sins with fasts and constant prayers, and with benevolence for the poor; 189. and you walk in rectitude and turn your faces away from all error of idolatry; and you confess that he is God who made heaven and earth and everything in them, things visible and invisible; 190. he will receive you in his great mercy, you who dwell in him; he will accept you and pardon your sins and make you heirs of the saints; and he will cause you delight in the kingdom of heaven, and give you a portion with the prophets who announced his revelation, and the disciples who preached his showing forth, and the martyrs who were killed for his love of them."*

* *Vs* 162: * Lk. 2.11. * Lk. 2.14. *Vs* 167: * Mt. 3.17, Mk. 1.11, Lk. 3.22, Jn. 1.32. *Vs* 168: * Jn. 1.29.

† Emending *sḥw* to *sḥpw* or *srḥw*. *Vk* has *hdmw'*.

Gregory's Final Exhortation

§716. "So come, brethren, let us concern ourselves with our common profit and advantage, so that your punishments may be removed from you, that peace may straightway replace the trouble that has fallen upon you, and that [you may gain] conversion to salvation from the errors to which you were prisoners. I have set out in order for your hearing all the sayings of the Godhead, hiding nothing profitable. From the beginning to the end I have told you everything.

Greek Vo: 106. "So now, brethren, let us be zealous for our common salvation, so that you may be healed from the anger lying over you, and have respite from the trouble that grips you, and your reason that was taken prisoner by error will turn [you] towards salvation. I have preached all the commandments of his divinity to your hearing, and I have not concealed what pertains to your advantage from beginning to end.

Arabic Va: 72. "Let us now hasten, brothers, to salvation, all together, so that you have respite from the anger that has surrounded you, and you may find peace from the demons who have harmed you, and so that your minds which were deranged may return to sanity in you. I have preached to you the commands of his divinity, nor have I concealed anything that might be of benefit to you, from the beginning to the end.

§717. "Come then, let us grasp the treasure of the Godhead, so that you may all be given healing from it. Let us put these [martyrs] to rest and build martyria[59] over them,† temples of united prayer, to seek continually from God, first, reconciliation and peace for the world,[60] and mercy with faith, hope and love, and also life and the kingdom of God;

† Martyria, *vkayarans*. As explained below, §768, Gregory built three such chapels for the martyrs' relics; curiously here *Ag* has a singular.

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59. Martyria, temples: *Ag, martyrion, naon.*

60. For the world: *Ag, om.*

Greek Vo: "Come now, let us gather the remains of the holy martyrs, so that through them healing may be granted you; and let us build martyria for them,

Arabic Va: "Come now, let us bring together the bodies of the holy women, so that salvation ['āfiya, health] may be granted to you through them; and let us build churches over them,

§718. "so that by their prayers and intercession to God you may be freed from willing servitude to deeds of darkness, and gain the shining glory of the Godhead; that they may give your souls rest from the torments that have come upon you as punishment, and through them you may be reconciled with[61] God.† For the Godhead who dwells in them will have pity on you through your repentance, confession, humility and obedient faith. Thus through abstemious fasting you may implant in your hearts and grasp in your minds [the fear of God],[62] cast off the thoughts of your own wills, become worthy of the bath of holy baptism, and attain the portion of the inheritance of these saints,† the lot of light and the boast of the cross, 'which to the lost is foolishness, but to you who have been found is God's wisdom and power and salvation.'*

* I Cor. 1.18, 23-24.

† The intercession of the martyrs is frequently stressed; see §234.

† Portion of the inheritance: a conflate, see §231.

Greek Vo: "so that they through their intercession may relieve you from the afflictions and scourge that befell you. 107. Repent in confession and humility and fullness of faith and in full asceticism of fasting, in order that he may plant in your hearts understanding to recognise his will, so you may be rendered worthy of the holy bath of baptism and of the share of the lot of the saints, and you may attain the inheritance of light and know the power and boast of the Cross—which is folly to those lost, but to you who have found wisdom and have been saved, the power of God.

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61. Reconciled with: *Ag*, strengthened towards.

62. *Ag*: the fear of God.

Arabic Va: "so that by their prayers your sufferings may be removed from you and the anger which surrounded you; 73. so that when you have repented and confessed your sin with humility, integrity of faith and fasting, knowledge of him may be sown in your hearts, and you may understand his wishes, and merit holy baptism with the inheritance of those who love him; so that you may come to the splendour of [his] light and recognise the power and glory of the cross, by which [men] may return [to him], which is foolishness to those who perish but the power of God to us who have found service and salvation;

§719. "He will make you worthy of divine adoption, wash away your sins and forgive your debts, and grant you a share of the crown of these saints who are among you;[63] so that you may become praisers of the Godhead, sharing in the ranks of praisers by the blessing of the holy Spirit; and that you may become worthy of receiving the mystery of the Godhead; that you may be cleansed from the stain of Satan, and he be trodden under your feet;[64] that you may enter and share in the marriage of the divine love,[65] eat the flesh of the true lamb,† the Son of God, and drink his blood;* and that you may become partakers in the torments of God,[66] and share his glory,* and become one spirit and companions with him through his body and blood.*

* Jn. 6.53. * Rom. 8.17. * I Cor. 12.13.

† Eat the flesh, *mis*, of the true lamb. *Mis*, lit. "meat," is not used in the Bible in the liturgical sense [Mt. 26.26 and parallels, or Jn. 6.53] or in the Armenian creeds. On this passage see Winkler, *Über die Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 400-401, esp. n. 101.

Greek Vo: "He will make you worthy for his adoption, and wipe out your sins, and forgive you your transgressions, and make you worthy of the share of the crown of his saints, and sharers with those who praise him, and make you worthy of his holy mysteries, after you have washed away all devilish filth. He will give you Satan to trample, so that entering the

63. Are among you: *Ag*, who came to you.
64. Your feet: *Ag*, the feet of your knowledge of God.
65. Marriage … love: *Ag*, divine marriage of joy.
66. Of God: *Ag*, of the Son of God.

bridal chamber of his divinity you may become sharers in the joy of the saints, and eating the body of the true Lamb, the Son of God, and drinking his blood, you may share in the sufferings of Christ and participate in his glory, so that in him we may become one spirit and participants in his holy blood and honourable body." Having imparted to them all this instruction, and praying for them, the blessed one said: "Depart each one of you to his own home without fear."

Arabic Va: "so that you may be worthy to become offspring of his divinity, and your sins may be erased and your evil deeds obliterated. May he make you worthy to be crowned with his saints, and may he place you among those who glorify him and grant you to merit thrones, when you will have been washed clean of all demonic filthiness, and will have trampled your enemy the devil under your feet; so that you may enter the wedding-chamber of his divinity and share in the joy of his saints, receiving the body of the calf, his only Son, and drinking his pure blood, and worthily be joined with Christ, so that through him you may be with the holy Spirit."

§720. "These martyrs through his mercy will be for you a strong fortress and mighty tower,* your protectors by intercession.† They were valiant in the shedding of blood, so that by their martyrdom they might bring you to God. They brought you profit and showed you the victorious power of their heroic struggle.[67]

* Ps. 60.4.

† Protectors: *verakac'uk'* [*epistatai* in *Ag*]. Although the term means "overseer," and is often used of bishops [rendering literally *epi-skopos*], its use in this sense is noted in the *NBHL* s.v. For the sense of "bishop" see §846 below.

§721. "Because it is now evening, go and rest, and sleep in peace. In the morning you must make haste to build sanctuaries for [their] repose,† so that they, in place of the earthly habitations which you built for them here, may prepare for you habitations of light in the kingdom of heaven. And by the intercession of these saints we hope

67. *Ag*: + through the power of God.

to attain the same united gathering in the kingdom of Christ. For his are glory and power and honour,[68] for ever and ever. Amen."*

* I Tim. 6.16, I Pet. 5.11.

† Sanctuaries: *yarks*, lit. "shelters, roofs," *skēnai* in *Ag.*

Greek Vg: 76. "But now let us stop our instruction at this point, and let us proceed to the holy bodies of the virgins in order to commit them to the grave and to build houses of prayer."

Greek Vo: 108. For evening had arrived. "And tomorrow gather zealously in order to build the chapels for the holy remains, so that they in return for this earthly building may prepare for us tabernacles in the kingdom of heaven, which we hope to enjoy, and through the intercession of the saints we may be made worthy of the kingdom of Christ; for to him [are due] honour and might, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen."

Arabic Va: With such and similar [words] did he advise and exhort them. And the holy one prayed for them and said to them: "Go to your homes without fear." 74. Evening was coming on when these things took place, so he said to them: "When it will be morning, come to me so that we may build churches for the bodies of the saints, so that on account of our terrestrial building dwellings may be built for you in heaven, which we hope to inherit through the prayers of the saints, and that we merit the kingdom of Christ, to whom be glory and power, for ever and ever, Amen."

§722. Having said this, he dismissed the crowd. But the king and nobles never parted from him, because they were in torments and fear. Day and night they stayed with him, dwelling by the door of the vat-store in the vineyard. They were dressed in hair-shirts, and sat on ashes, and fasted for sixty-six days.[69]† In this way for sixty-five days the blessed Gregory tirelessly and unceasingly,[70] day and night,

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68. And honour: *Ag, om.*

69. *Ag*: sixty-five.

70. Tirelessly and unceasingly: *Ag, om.*

never ceased from speaking, advising, teaching, and confirming them. Like a wise doctor he tried to find the appropriate helpful remedy,† so that they might entrust themselves to him as patients; and he like a skilled [physician][71] might heal their souls with the gospel of Christ.

† Sixty-six days: sixty in *abdAB*, sixty-five in *Ag*. There is some variation in Agathangelos concerning the length of Gregory's instruction. In §726, after all this instruction, the sixty-sixth day dawns; but according to §729 there were 66 days of instruction. For the later interpretation of the number of days of instruction [during which the people fasted] as applied to the Lenten fast see the Introduction, 72.

† Doctor, *bžišk*; see above, §239. Skilled [physician], *čartarapet*, often used of an architect [as I Cor. 3.10, or of God as *technitēs*, Heb. 11.10, and §758 below], but sometimes applied to philosophers, poets, or even singers.

Greek Vo: After saying this, he dismissed all the crowd from him. But the king and his magnates did not depart from him even a little, being still in the affliction that gripped them; but night and day they remained by him in the press that was in the midst of the vineyards, having put on sackcloth and sitting in ashes and fasting. For sixty-five days he continued exhorting each one of them and strengthening them in the true and secure faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Arabic Va: When he had finished his address, he dismissed the people. The king and princes, however, did not dare to leave him, not even for an hour, because they were still in those torments. But day and night they were with him in that press that was in the middle of the vineyards; they sat like prisoners, and fasted from week to week.

Syriac Vs: 151. The martyr of Christ, lord Gregory, commanded them to put on sackcloth and observe a fast. He did likewise. And they also clothed the king, who had become a boar, with sackcloth; and they covered him up completely, save only for his eyes. They were like that while he exhorted them for sixty-five days.

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71. Skilled [physician]: *Ag*, compassionate doctor.

§723. He informed and enlightened them about everything, abbreviating nothing and speaking neither superficially nor hastily. But he taught them all most clearly, beginning from the beginning, from the creation of the world, up to the holy speakers of God's words. He made them all acquainted with and aware of the virtuous deeds of each one and their inspired sayings.

Arabic Va: The blessed Gregory remained for sixty-five days teaching and warning them, and advising them all. And he grounded them in the secure true faith, which is faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

§724. He informed them by individual name of each one of the men who loved God, of those instructed in the truth handed down by Christ, of each one's godly life and spiritual labour and witness[72] and their sayings [inspired] by God. He expounded all the words of the holy Spirit spoken by them through God in proper order, and explained their interpretation by the power of the same [Spirit].†

† Agathangelos again summarises the themes of the *Teaching*.

Syriac Vs: 191. With these [words] and with better than these the martyr of Christ, lord Gregory, instructed them.

§725. They were gathered together in a numberless assemblage of men, jostling each other and forming a crowd,[73]† to give their attention to the teaching. The throngs were infinite, gathered in vast numbers from the report in order to see and hear the amazing miracles of the Godhead. Men, women and children had gathered from each one's province, awed at the prodigies of creation, and they submitted and believed. They hastened to see the incontestable miracles, they willingly attended to the profitable advice[74] of the life-giving preaching of the word of life,* the Gospel. The king and the nobles accepted everything and[75] hastened to do whatever he might command.

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72. And witness: *Ag, om.*

73. And forming a crowd: *Ag, om.*

74. *Ag*: + and the illuminating pronouncement.

75. Accepted everything and: *Ag, om.*

* Phil. 2.16.

† Forming a crowd: *xnčoys kac'ouc'anēin.* Although *xnčoyk'* usually means a banquet or festivity, it can also be used of a crowd of spectators; see the *NBHL* s.v.

Syriac Vs: They heard him and received them from him with joy, confessing their sins and weeping bitter tears. They denied dead idols and confessed that God is one, who created heaven and earth; and they received the grace of him who had sent them a saviour and teacher and guide, Gregory his servant.

§726. When the sixty-sixth day came round,[76] at the dawn of morning, the nobles with the king and the princes and the common people, with the crowd of women and innocent young children, approached and fell down in flocks[77] before saint Gregory, beseeching and begging for healing from the torments which had fallen upon them as punishment;[78] because they had been struck in a just judgment by the rod of [God's] anger.*

* Is. 10.5.

Greek Vo: 109. At dawn on the sixty-sixth day the magnates and satraps and all the nobles and the entire crowd of the populace with their wives and children approached saint Gregory, and begged him to provide healing of their affliction for them,

Arabic Va: 75. On the morning of the sixty-sixth day the princes and magnates and all the nobles and the rest of the people with wives and children gathered, and asked saint Gregory to pray for them so that they might obtain respite from the [troubles] in which they found themselves.

§727. Especially the king, because he had been changed into the form of a wallowing pig. His whole body had become hairy, and on his limbs bristles had grown like those of great wild boars.[79]† And

76. *Ag*, when the sixty days were completed.

77. In flocks, *eram eram*: *Ag*, in different groupings, *phratriai diaphoroi.*

78. Which ... punishment: *Ag, om.*

79. *Ag*: + which pasture in the reeds.

the nails of his hands and feet had hardened like the claws of beasts that dig the earth or eat roots.[80] Similarly, the appearance of his face had turned into the likeness of the hard snout of an animal living among reeds.[81] Because of the beast-like nature of his way of life[82] he had fallen from the honour of his throne, and he roamed about in the likeness of irrational pasturing beasts* among the animals in the reeds,[83] lost to the society of men.

* Ps. 48.13.

† Wild boar, *varaz*; see above, note to §212.

Greek Vo: and most of all for the king, because he was still in the form of a wild boar.

Arabic Va: But before respite for themselves, they prayed for the recovery of the king, because his appearance was still like the appearance and nature of a pig.

Syriac Vs: 192. Then the king, who had become a boar, entreated Gregory, saying: "Forgive me, Lord, that I tormented you with those cruel tortures mercilessly, from which I came to recognise that there is a true God, for whose sake you endured them, and he gave you strength. 193. Who of mortals could endure these things that I did to you unless he were accompanied by God? Who hated the salvation of his life like me, a demon? God sent you to us as saviour and teacher, yet I of my own accord completely destroyed you. 194. But God in his mercy preserved you for us as a treasure of life for the day of life. What shall I do, I the demon, for the things that I did to you do not suffice us?† 195. Also those lamps which came to our land, those holy nuns, in order to illuminate it from the darkness of error, who were examples for us towards the path of truth, I destroyed them cruelly with various deaths.

† The meaning here of *spq*, "to suffice," is unclear. Vk has *kfy*, "hidden."

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80. Or eat roots: *Ag, om.*

81. The hard snout ... reeds: *Ag*, a pig.

82. *Ag*: + he had received just punishment from the righteous judge and.

83. *Ag*: + and was likened to them according to the scripture.

§728. When Gregory, the confessor[84] of Christ, had come forth from the dungeon-pit and reached the place of the martyrs, as if by the providence of God all those possessed by demons gathered together and came to that same place. The king, in swinish form, cried out in a loud voice; he called out, grunted and slobbered and foamed at the mouth in his snout-like[85] face, and in the likeness of a four-footed beast ran from the boars' reedy pasture to the same spot.

Greek Vo: 110. When the blessed martyr of Christ, Gregory, had emerged from the pit and had come to stand at the spot of the martyrs, led by the grace of Christ, everyone had gathered in the same place, raving and eating their own flesh. [The king] cowed by the activity of the demons, had also arrived at the afore-mentioned place.

Arabic Va: 76. The blessed Gregory, martyr of God, when he had come out of the pit had gone to the place of the saints' bodies; it was the Lord who directed him to them. Then all the people gathered at that place, and being demon-possessed were eating their own flesh. And the king in the form of a pig was being attacked by the demons while he stood in that place.

§729. The blessed Gregory prayed and begged from the all-bountiful God not healing for the various torments, but attention to his teaching for a while, that he might come to his senses and comprehend the message of God's words. And he had just enough healing to be able to hear properly, comprehend and speak freely. Through all the sixty-six days of instruction he[86] remained in the same form, though wrapped in garments, in the midst of the great crowd of the assembled populace.

Greek Vo: Then the most holy Gregory had requested the good and benevolent God to restore his human mind and his speech, in order for him to understand the meaning of what was being said by him. So for those sixty-six days he had remained in the same form.

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84. *Ag*: + and martyr.

85. Snout-like: *Ag*, *om*.

86. He: *Ag*, the king.

Arabic Va: The blessed Gregory sought from God, who loves mankind, that at least he might restore to the king his human mind with the hearing of his ears, so that he might realise the power of his words. So for sixty-six days he remained in the form of a pig.

§730. When they began to roll and fall before him and to ask for healing—because the king had lost his natural human form for that ridiculous appearance, except for the ability to speak and hear[87]—then after their supplications he replied and said to them: "I too like one of you will seek your advantage. And do you sincerely request healing, because the benevolent deity will have mercy upon you. But hasten and build martyria in order to give repose to the martyrs of God, so that they may give you respite from the torments of your punishments, and that you may be saved from the terrible and cruel judgments that have been prepared and promised for the future, and that you may become worthy of the kingdom of Christ." They begged him quickly to command as he might wish and whatever he might desire to be done.[88] Then he related to them a vision as follows.

Greek Vo: 111. When they all began to seek healing from the holy one on behalf of the king, and were again begging that he be restored to human nature, the blessed Gregory said to them: "I too, as being one of you and as having suffered almost the same as you, likewise request the benevolent God for the salvation of you all. Do you from your whole heart seek healing from him; for God is benevolent and will work his mercy upon you. So fear nothing, for being attentive to your disposition he will provide salvation and healing for you. However, make haste and build the places of prayer, so that we may lay to rest the remains of the holy martyrs of God, so that they may make supplication for you and deliver you from the affliction that grips you, and free you from the coming fearful and very harsh judgment, and make you worthy of the kingdom of your master Jesus Christ." They replied: "Whatever you may command we shall heed you and carry out. But we beg you, what you wish to be done by us command us rapidly."

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87. Because … and hear: *Ag*, for themselves and the king.

88. And whatever … done: *Ag, om.*

Arabic Va: 53. "So now ... and [let us] go to the bodies of the holy ones, and bury them and build churches for them."

Arabic Va: 77. They repeated their request to saint Gregory on behalf of the king that he might restore him to human form. But the blessed Gregory said to them: "I am a man like one of you. Torments were inflicted on me by you earlier, but I shall seek salvation for everyone from God. Save that you must also ask for respite with all your hearts, because he is God who loves mankind, and he will have mercy upon you. Fear not, therefore, but rejoice because he examines hearts and reins, and knows what you hide; yet he will grant you salvation. But hurry and build churches for the repose of the bodies of the saints of God, so that they may rapidly pray for you and you may be saved from anger, and he may free you from cruel fear, that is, of judgment, and you may become worthy of the death of our Lord Jesus Christ." They responded and said: "Whatever you may command us, we shall heed and obey. But quickly command us, so we may carry that out."

§731. "So come, we shall tell you, brethren, of the Creator's love for creation shown to you, which was revealed to me as an awesome vision. The Godhead condescended to his holy martyrs and raised them[1] up to the incomparable, indescribable and unequalled height of the kingdom of heaven. He revealed to me the vivifying providence that he intends to bestow on you; and there appeared to me a divine, wonderful and ineffable vision, the details of which I grasped in brief.

Greek Vg: 77. "For last night I had a great vision.

Greek Vo: Does not contain this episode.

Arabic Va: 54. "This [we should do], because this night I saw a vision which terrified me.

Syriac Vs: Does not contain this episode.

§732. "Now in the middle of that night when you were tired and sleeping from the severity of the labour and vigil, I was still awake and was contemplating the unexpected and inscrutable miracles of God's mercy in visiting you and casting you into the furnace of instruction of the wise, divine teaching.† I also considered the martyrs' love for their beloved Creator, and what would be the ineffable rewards prepared for them.

† Furnace of instruction. The metaphor of a furnace is an important theme in the *Teaching*, esp. §632-639.

§733. "Suddenly there was a great sound, the thunder of lightning, a fearful noise like the sound of the roaring tumult of the waves of the piling sea. And the dome-shaped† vault of the firmament of heaven was opened, and a man descended in the form of light.† He called my name and said: 'Gregory.' I looked up and saw his form,

1. Them: *Ag*, their incomparable honour.

and terror-struck I fell to the ground. Then he said to me: 'Look up and see the wonders that I shall show you.'

† Dome-shaped: *xoranašēn*; cf. the Teaching, §259: the firmament is *xoranard.*

† A man: His identity is not indicated by Agathangelos, but in §743 he is described as "the providence of God, *tesč'ut'iwn Astucoy.*" [The MS *A*, written in 1569, glosses this as "who is our Lord Jesus Christ;" see just below.] Łazar, 32, refers to the angelic foundation of the site, *hreštakac'oyc himnarkut'iwn.* The church later built nearby by Nersēs III in the mid-seventh century is specifically linked to the angelic hosts of Gregory's vision by Sebēos, 147; hence the church was called *Zuart'noc'*, "of the vigilant ones" [see above, §252]. The man was later interpreted as Christ, hence the site of the *kat'ołikē* and the martyria became known as Ējmiacin, "the Only-begotten descended." But that name does not seem to antedate the eleventh century, when it is attested in a eulogy of Gregory attributed to Anania Sanahnec'i; see the Introduction, 87. Khatchatrian, *L'Architecture*, 85, considers the general adoption of the name to be linked to the return of the patriarchal see from Cilicia in 1441. On the meaning of the term *kat'olikē* and for a detailed study of the history of the fabric of the main church see Garibian de Vartavan, "L'aspect primitif."

Greek Vg: I saw the vault-like heaven opened, and the waters above heaven flowing down on to earth.

§734. "I looked up and saw the firmament of heaven opened, and the waters above the firmament divided,† for like valleys and mountain-tops they were divided to this side and that, and their infinite expanses were piled up farther than the eye could see. The light flowed from above down to the earth, and with the light numberless hosts of shining two-winged creatures in human appearance and with wings like fire.† In the likeness of minute specks of dust, which in the sunny springtime play in their myriads in the rays[2] passing through windows or sky-lights,† in similar fashion these hosts filled everything below with their light, and as the light streamed forward, so did the hosts with it.

† Waters above the firmament. See Basil's *Hexaemeron*, III 9, for the waters above and below the firmament, based on Gen. I 7. This conception is only

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2. Which ... rays: *Ag*, moved by the warmth of the sun's ray.

hinted at in the *Teaching*, e.g. §260 or 413, but is found in Eznik and later Armenian writers on cosmology.

† The nature of angels is fire; see the *Teaching*, §262, etc. In this vision, however, the importance of light and fire goes beyond biblical parallels, as pointed out by Hultgård, "Change and Continuity:" the manifestation of a divine being through a column of light is reminiscent of the Mithraic mysteries. Cf. also the fiery youth Vahagn as reported in an ancient song recorded by Movsēs Xorenac'i, I 31. Hultgård also notes the Iranian character of the "fiery altars," in §739 below.

† Sky-lights: *loysanc'oyc' erdoc'n*. Cf. the *erdk' loysiǰoyc's* in the *Buzandaran*, V 6, "apertures in the ceiling to let through the light." *Erd* is the hole in the roof to let out smoke and let in light; and then by extension, "household," or the amount of land required to support a household, for which see §837.

Arabic Va: I saw that heaven had been opened like a vault, and waters were raining down from heaven on to the earth.

§735. "And [there was] an awesome vision of a man, tall and fearful, who governed the front and the rear guards; descending from above, he advanced as vanguard. In his hand was a great hammer of gold, and they all followed him. He himself came flying swiftly in the likeness of a fleet-winged eagle. He descended and came down near the ground of the earth in the middle of the city. And he struck the wide expanse of the solid ground, and great and immeasurable rumblings sounded in the underground depths.† And the whole earth as far as the eye could see was struck as level as a plain.

† Underground depths: *sandaramets andndoc'*. For *sandaramet*, the underworld, see Russell, *Zoroastrianism*, 324-329, and his "Armenian Religion," 442.

Greek Vg: 79. [There was] a vast man whose form and size it is not possible to describe, for he filled everything. Holding a golden staff in his hands, he struck the earth and the mountains. The rocks and hills echoed, and were dispersed and flattened.

Arabic Va: 56. Then I saw a huge man whose beauty and strength no one can describe. In his hand he held a golden rod with which he struck the

earth and the mountains and hills; and these echoed like pots, and they disappeared and became like meadows.

§736. "In the middle of the city, near the royal palace, I saw a circular† base of gold, as great as a hill, and on it an exceedingly tall column of fire, and on top of that[3] a capital of cloud, and on top of that again a cross of light.

† Circular: *xarsxajew čaxarakajew*, lit. "in the form of a base [and] of a lathe," *Ag*, "turned on a lathe, *tetorneumenēn*."

Greek Vg: In the central spot of the city of Artašat a royal base; and above the golden base a fiery pillar. Its flame rose up, shining on all sides; its summit was a cloud like light; and on top of it the form of a flashing Cross.

Arabic Va: And in the middle of the city of Artašat there was a golden royal base [lit. tent, screen, hijāb], and on the base a column like fire and its rays shone out on every side, and on its top a cloud, and above the cloud the form of a cross flashing like lightning. 55. All these things were in the middle of the city.

§737. "I looked up and saw three other bases:† one in the place where saint Gaiane was martyred with her two companions; one in the place where saint Rhipsime was martyred with the thirty-two[4] companions;† and one in the place of the wine-press. These bases were red, the colour of blood,[5] and the columns were of cloud and the capitals of fire. And on top of the three columns were crosses of light in the likeness of the Lord's cross. The crosses of these columns were level with the capital of the column of light,† for that one was higher than they.[6] And from the four columns, above the crosses, marvellous vaults fitted into each other. Above this I saw a canopy of cloud,† wonderfully and divinely constructed in the form of a dome.

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3. On top of that: *Ag, om.*

4. Thirty-two: *Ag*, thirty-three.

5. Red … blood: *Ag*, fiery.

6. Level … they: *Ag*, the crosses of these columns were level, but the column of the shining capital was higher.

Under the canopy, on the vaults I saw these thirty-seven[7] holy martyrs in luminous form with white garments, which I am not capable of describing.

† The vision distinguishes the main column, the future *kat'olikē*, which is not a martyrium, from the three bases which mark the sites of the martyria.

† Thirty-two: 33 in Ag and *βadt*. For the number of martyrs see above, §138. The symbolism of the vision is explained below in more spiritual terms. Here the linking of the columns with vaults refers to the physical structure of the main church. See the discussion of this vision in Khatchatrian and Garibian de Vartavan.

† Level: *hawasar*, *isoi* in *Ag*, or "equal."

† Canopy, in the form of a dome: *gmbet'jew xoranard*, cf. Basil, *Hexaemeron*, III 4, for heaven as *gmbet'ajew xoranajew*, and §733 above.

Greek Vg: 78. This was in the centre of the city. In another place, three royal bases the colour of blood, and fiery columns. The columns were not fixed in a straight line, but one was to the east, another to the south, and the third to the west. Similarly, in the three vaults the form of the precious Cross appeared shining out.

Arabic Va: In another place three royal bases whose appearance was like blood, and fiery columns not similar to the fixed columns, but one on the east, another on the west, and another on the south. And these three [formed] one schema joined like the form of a cross, visible and shining above three vaults.

§738. "At the summit of this edifice I saw a wonderful and divine throne of fire with the Lord's cross above it. Around it spread light in every direction,[8] mingled with the rays of the cross and joined to the same. And the column made of light shone out[9] among the bases of the lower columns.[10]

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7. Thirty-seven: *Ag*, thirty [clearly an error].

8. In every direction: *Ag, om.*

9. *Ag*: + upwards.

10. Among ... columns: *Ag* begins the next paragraph with this phrase.

§739. "There gushed forth an abundant spring, flowing over all the plains and filling them completely as far as the eye could see. A vast bluish[11] sea was created, and the plains appeared altogether the colour of heaven. And I saw a numberless multitude of fiery altars,† and a column on each altar, and a cross above each [column].[12] They shone out in infinite numbers like the stars.

† Fiery altars. Hultgård, "Change and Continuity," draws the parallel with Iranian fire-altars, very appropriate here in that there had been a fire altar at Vałaršapat itself on the site of the *kat'olikē*.

Greek Vg: 80. After that [I saw] golden altars adorned, as if over the whole level ground; and I saw crosses fixed on each altar.

Arabic Va: 57. And I saw many tables adorned whose appearance was golden. These tables filled the ground which had been flattened like a meadow; and on each table a cross was fixed.

§740. "And I saw numberless herds of goats, black in colour, who having passed through the water turned into sheep;† and their colour became white, and all their wool shone so that rays flashed out from them. While I was still looking, suddenly the flocks gave birth and multiplied, and their offspring filled the land. The lambs that were born were all shining. Then suddenly still more offspring multiplied, and some of them crossed to the other side of the water. These lambs became brown[13] wolves and attacked the flocks and began to slaughter them, and there was shedding of blood. While I was looking, I saw that wings grew on the flocks, and they became winged; and they flew up and joined the luminous hosts. And there arose a torrent of fire which bore away the wolves.

† Goats and sheep. Cf. Mt. 25.32-33. The image of sheep for [true] Christians was standard; for the identity of the goats in later interpretations of this vision see the Introduction, 75-78.

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11. Bluish: *Ag, om.*

12. And a column ... each [column]: *Ag*, and a cross above each altar.

13. Brown, *t'ux*, *or* dark: *Ag*, black.

Greek Vg: 81. Then a numerous flock of black colour. When they passed through the waters that flowed from heaven, the sheep and lambs were straightway transformed into the form of light, and their wool became shining. Some separated from the flock and returned again to their former condition. Changed with a blacker colour into wolves, they seized not a few sheep of their own original colour and caused them to share their intention.

Arabic Va: 58. After that I saw a large flock whose appearance was black, and they crossed the waters which descended from heaven. Immediately they became like sheep and lambs, and shone like light, and their wool resembled snow. Then a group separated from the herd and returned again to their former activity. And they became blacker than they had been before, and turned into wolves. They attacked not a few of the pure herds; and taking their previous appearance, they enticed them to associate with them and taught them to favour themselves.

§741. "Beholding this I was amazed. Then the man who had earlier called my name and was showing me [this], said to me: 'O man, why do you stand in amazement without pondering the miracles of God?' And I said: 'How, Lord?' He said to me: 'This vision has been revealed to you so that you might pay heed to it. For behold, the heavens have been opened;* know that the gates of Christ's benevolence* towards his creatures have been opened. As for the sound of the voice of thunder, know that the rain of God's mercy and pity[14]* is descending. Behold, the gates of heaven have been opened and the waters above have been opened,[15]† so that there be no impediment for men of this world to rise up. For the holy martyrs who were martyred here have made a road for these Northern regions,† since they have gone up and arranged paths for others.

* Ez. 1.1. * Ps. 77.23, Tit. 3.4. * Lk. 1.78.

† Waters opened; but in §734 they were divided, as in *Ag* here. There is no variant attested in *Aa*.

† Northern regions; see above §175.

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14. Pity, *gt'ut'iwn*: *Ag*, knowledge; as the Armenian MSS *A* and *B*, *gitut'iwn*.

15. Opened: *Ag*, divided.

Greek Vg: 82. When I saw this and was in great dread, a man like light who had fiery wings called me, saying: 'Do not fear, Gregory. Come, I shall expound to you the vision.

Arabic Va: 59. So beholding this vision I greatly besought God. And I saw a man whose appearance was like light and who had two fiery wings. He called to me and said: 'Do not be afraid, Gregory. Come close and I shall explain to you the vision that you saw.

§742. "'Behold, this light which filled the land is the preaching of the gospel,* which also fills the northern region. And the hosts of light greatly desired to descend to the sweet odour,* like that of a rose-coloured flower, of the martyrs' blood. From henceforth multitudes of angels will mingle and live with mankind.

* Jn. 1.4. * II Cor. 2.15.

§743. "'Now the fearsome and splendid man, who in the vanguard of light held the golden hammer in his hand and struck the lower regions,[16]† he is the providence of God,† 'who looks on the earth and makes it shake; he approaches the hills and they smoke.'* This awe of the Godhead has flattened and destroyed and overthrown error from the earth. That the earth echoed [means] it uttered the voice of servitude and obedience.

* Ps. 103.32.

† Lower regions: *sandaramets*; see above, note to §735.

† Providence of God. See note to §733 above.

Arabic Va: 61. The huge man whom you saw is the power of the Omnipotent. And the rod which you saw in his hand, and with which he struck the mountains and hills and stones and rendered them level, [indicates] that he will destroy all gods the work of men's hands, and by his word the worship will be increased of the sole true God, the Father and his only Son and the holy Spirit.

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16. The lower regions: *Ag*, the dense earth.

§744. "'As for the golden base of the pillar, and its fiery column and capital of cloud and the shining cross above it: the base of gold is the immovable rock of establishment;* the fiery column is the Catholic church† which gathers all peoples to one unity of faith under her wings;* and the capital of cloud is to receive the just when they will fly up to meet the Lord at his coming.*

* Mt. 7.25. * Eph. 4.13. * I Thess. 4.16.

† Catholic church: *kat'olikē ekełec'i.* There is a double meaning here: the specific main church at Vałaršapat, and "catholic" in the sense of the church universal. The term *kat'olikē* is not in the Armenian New Testament, but cf. Ełišē, 10, 67, for the "catholic and apostolic" church. ["Catholic" in the Armenian creed is rendered by *ĕndhanrakan.*] For *kat'olikē* meaning a main church see Garibian de Vartavan, 428-429. Movsēs Xorenac'i, III 9 and 66, uses the latter sense when referring to the *kat'olikē* in the city of Vałaršapat. It should not necessarily be translated as "cathedral" in the modern sense of a bishop's see, as in Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i II*, ad loc., though the correct explanation is given there in n. 45 to p. 259.

Greek Vg: The fiery pillar in the middle of the city—there shall be built the principal [katholikē] church.

Arabic Va: As for the vision that you saw in the middle of the city, that is, the fiery columns—in that place will be built the catholic [j'mġh] church.

§745. " 'Now the shining cross on it is the great high-priesthood* itself among the peoples, the type of Christ's image,† the incarnate high-priesthood of the anointed Son of God.[17] And that place will be a temple of God and a house of prayer* for the requests of all the faithful, and a throne of the high-priesthood.†

* Heb. 3.14. * Mt. 21.13.

† Type: *awrinak.* On the importance of such imagery in early Armenian writers see the Introduction to Thomson, *Teaching II*, 21-23.

† Throne of the high-priesthood: *at'oṙ k'ahanayapetut'ean.* Gregory is frequently called *k'ahanayapet.* For this and other titles given to him in Agathangelos and other early writers see Thomson, *Agathangelos I*,

17. Of the anointed Son of God: *Ag*, and likeness of his divinity.

lxxviii-lxxix. The use of *at'oṙ*, lit. "cathedra," emphasises the role of the *kat'olikē* in Vałaršapat as the residence of the patriarchal see, as opposed to the earlier Aštišat; see the *Buzandaran*, and references in Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 511, s.v. *at'oṙ*.

Greek Vg: And through the precious Cross it will be a shepherd bringing instruction to the people, and strengthening men in the faith of the consubstantial Trinity.

Arabic Va: And through the holy cross a shepherd will arise and instruct men and strengthen the people in faith in the Trinity.

§746. "'The three[18] bases which were red, the colour of blood,[19] represent the torments and afflictions that came upon [the martyrs] and their endurance unto death; for they made their death the base* of the true faith† by the shedding of their blood. And the columns appeared of cloud for this reason, because the cloud has lightness to rise swiftly up to heaven at the resurrection.[20] And the capital was fiery, because their habitation will be in the fire of the divine light.

* Heb. 6.19.

† Base of the true faith: cf. the *xarisx hastatun* of Heb. 6.19. *Ag* renders the second "base" by *basis*, not *agkyra*, thus losing the play on words. For the symbolism of clouds in various contexts, including the Ascension, see Lampe, s.v. *nephelē*.

Greek Vg: The other three blood-like bases there are the holy virgins Rhipsime, Gaiane, and those with them, who contended in blood; they have received crowns, and through their death attained immortality.

Arabic Va: Now those three columns whose appearance was like blood are the holy virgins Rhipsime and Gaiane and the rest, who in blood were martyred, received crowns and by death inherited life. The schema with which you saw the columns linked, this is their faith in the sole

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18. Three: *Ag, om.*

19. The colour of blood: *Ag, om.*

20. To rise ... resurrection: *Ag*, and rapidity, it contains the type of the resurrection and ascension to heaven.

Trinity, which made them worthy to share with Christ God in his suffering.

§747. "'The crosses represent the sufferings of the martyrs, who imitated the sufferings of the Lord and died for him. They lived[21] in God and were crucified with Christ, and Christ lives in their bones† in order to show everyone their life, to reveal by them the sweet odour of his knowledge,† and to spread abroad their virtue throughout the world. For they killed their earthly bodies[22] and hung [them] from the Lord's[23] cross; they became fellow-sufferers with their Lord, and likewise will share in his glory and power.*

* Rom. 8.17.

† Christ lives in the bones of the martyrs. Cf. the *Teaching*, §564, for the bones of the martyrs as temples of God. Note the emphasis in Łazar, 102-104, on the holiness of the martyrs' bones, the miracles that occurred over them, and the zeal of the Xužik in collecting them.

† The martyrs' bones have a sweet odour, despite being left in the open for many days, as also in Łazar, 103. See in general Lampe, s.v. *euōdia*; and cf. §223 above.

Arabic Va: Now the three fixed crosses are the image of the cross on which Christ was raised for the salvation of the human race between the two thieves, so that men might endure suffering for Christ's sake, share in his adversities, and in life might inherit 60. and deserve the joy prepared in heaven and the eternal kingdom.

§748. "'The first cross that was revealed to you[24] represents the boast of the honour of priesthood, which glories[25] in the cross of Christ.† But the other three represent the places for the martyria of repose of the saints, because in the place[s][26] where their blood was

21. Lived: *Ag*, live.

22. *Ag*: + by [their] endurance.

23. Lord's: *Ag, om.*

24. That was revealed to you: *Ag, om.*

25. Which glories: *Ag*, of those who believe.

26. *Ag*: + of their crown and.

shed will be built martyria of repose for their bones.[27] Now the first column was the highest, because the honour of the Catholic church is greater and higher than all the heights of the saints.† And the arches that were linked to each other from the columns[28] are the equality and unity of the Catholic church. The canopy above represents the type of the celestial city,* the gathering-place of the unity of the kingdom of heaven.†

* Gal. 4.26.

† Glories in the cross: Gal. 6.14. The allusion is lost in *Ag.*

† Catholic: see §744 above for the double entendre here, where church as the gathering place of the faithful and the *kat'olikē* building are both intended.

† Canopy: *xoran.* See Thomson, "Architectural Symbolism," for the dome as a type [*awrinak,* see §745] of heaven.

Greek Vg: The three chains which linked the columns [are] their faith, which through the consubstantial Trinity made them worthy to share in the suffering of the Saviour and our God. Hence the three crosses indicate the Cross which carried [Christ] on behalf of the human race, so that men, suffering for Christ's sake, might become sharers in his suffering and life."

§749. "'Because the martyrs appeared to you,' he said, 'know that their death is temporary and their life eternal and [they are] glorious in the glory of the Son of God. Therefore they figured in themselves the pattern of his cross.†

† Figures, pattern: *tpaworeal, awrinak.* On the terminology see parallels in Thomson, *Teaching II,* 22-23.

§750. "'What you see above the top of the building is the throne of the almighty nature of the Godhead, of his essential height; for he is the head of the holy church* and the worker of all blessings.† In him is held together the whole edifice, and it increases the glory of God,* in whom is firmly established the whole body with joints and limbs.*

* Col. 1.18. * Col. 2.19. * Eph. 2.21-22, 4.16.

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27. Bones: *Ag,* relics, *leipsanōn.*

28. From the columns: *Ag, om.*

† Worker of all blessings: as of God in the *Buzandaran*, V 24.

§751. "'The light which surrounds the cross is the Spirit of the Godhead who glorifies the Son. And that it mingled with its rays means that he receives from the Son and tells of him to his beloved.* He was united to the same, because the nature of the Godhead is one. The light shone from the midst of the four columns and caused an abundant torrent to flow forth, because the grace of the Spirit will flow from the Catholic church amid the martyrs and the priesthood as the fountain of baptism, to wash away the stain of the soul with the body.† And it spread out and filled many places, because it will become salvation for many peoples through baptism. The fact that the plains appeared the colour of heaven means that this earth will become like heaven—the union of angels and of men.†

* Jn. 16.14.

† Wash by baptism: cf. Acts 22.16. This is elaborated in the *Teaching*, §412.

† Union of men and angels: frequent in the *Teaching*, §364, 414, 640, 674, 679.

Arabic Va: The waters which rained down from heaven are a figure of baptism by which all men are baptised and which cleanses all impurities of transgressors.

§752. "'The multitudes of fiery altars which appeared to you will truly be the altars of God that will distribute expiation to all. They appeared fiery for this reason, because the worship of the Spirit will take place gloriously. And the columns by each altar [represent] the worship of the prayers of the priesthood.† The crosses above them signify that the holy name of Christ will be glorified in all places. And they were as many as the stars, because the services of holiness[29] will multiply like the stars.

† Columns as worship. For the symbolism of "column" representing the church, the exegesis of I Tim. 3.15, see Lampe, s.v. *stylos*.

Arabic Va: The tables that you saw as golden and the crosses fixed on them [indicate] that in all the land of Armenia churches and crosses will

29. The services of holiness: *Ag*, the worship of the holy Trinity.

arise, shining in the whole country, and the Trinity will be glorified because of the victory of the cross, and all idols will be rendered useless.

§753. "'As for the herds of many black goats, who in going down to the waters turned into white sheep, behold [this means that] the right hand of God's grace will come through the high-priesthood,† through which the fountain of baptism will flow for the forgiveness and expiation of many sinners. And their luminous wool, which shone and sparkled, signifies that the baptised will be clothed in light and become worthy of the promised kingdom. The fact that the flocks gave birth and multiplied and filled the land signifies that the preaching will be increased for a long time, and new, renewed offspring will be born, and baptism will be increased.†

† The right hand represents the bishop/high-priest; see Lampe, s.v. *dexios*. This is emphasised below, §826.

† Preaching will be increased, baptism will be increased. The two verbs are singular in the causative mood with the nouns in the accusative case, but no subject is indicated.

Arabic Va: The pure flock whose wool was clean, these are those who by baptism and the holy Spirit shine through [their] shepherds.

§754. "'The fact that half of the flocks went through the waters to the same side from which they had passed, means that in later times there will be impious ones who depart from the truth; they will cast behind them the seal of the holy covenant of the Godhead, and many will abandon the holy covenant.[30]† From lambs they will become wolves who will slaughter the holy lambs—that is, those who depart from the truth and the priestly covenant[31] will become wolves and will cause the shedding of the blood of the lambs, that is of the covenant and of the priesthood, and [will cause] confusion for the peoples. But those lambs which endure faithfully, either from among the peoples or the priests, will receive wings and rise to the kingdom of Christ. Whereas those who will have the intentions of wolves, or

30. Covenant: *Ag*, commandments.

31. Who depart...covenant: *Ag*, who remain in the truth but [depart] from the priestly order.

commit their rapacious deeds, will be handed over to unquenchable fire.

† In later times: *i yetin žamanaks*. The phrase is ambiguous, for it could mean "at a later time," or "in the last times." The *Teaching*, §666-679, emphasises the theme of the six ages of this world to be followed by that of rest, interpreting Joel's prophecy, 2.28-31, regarding visions and dreams, to be followed by signs in heaven and on earth. Agathangelos does not specify the time when many will abandon the holy covenant, so the question remains whether this is a prophecy *ex eventu* regarding a particular historical occasion, or an anticipation of the "last times," linking the vision to that important theme in the *Teaching*. For the seven ages cf. also Gregory's reference to release from pain in §72 above. The apocalyptic aspect of this vision is studied in La Porta, "The Vision of St. Grigor Lusaworičʻ."

† For the covenant, the *uxt* between Trdat and the people to observe Christianity, see §857 below, and for *uxt* as "religion," §153. The covenant of church and people to resist Persian attempts in 450 to restrict Christian worship is such an important theme in Armenian historiography that it is difficult not to see a connection. Łazar, 62, describes that covenant taken with oaths, but although he does not give it such prominence as Ełišē, he does specifically equate the conflict of 450-451 with Gregory's vision, p. 42: the impious ones who turned into wolves represent the pro-Iranian party in the ensuing war, led by Vasak of Siwnikʻ, who abandoned the covenant and Christianity. The covenant plays an even greater role in Ełišē's *History of Vardan*; see the Introduction to Thomson, *Elishē*, 9-16. It is noteworthy that the translator of *Ag* did not understand the importance of the *uxt* [a term which can also mean "clergy"], and twice changes the meaning. See further the Introduction, 75-78, and also for Marr's different interpretation of the wolves and lambs as reflecting Christological controversy.

Arabic Va: As for those who turned away from justice and became unjust and were changed and turned into wolves, these are the leaders who will turn away and attract others with them and lead them to their own will.

§755. "'And you,' said the man to me, 'stand firm, be strong, be attentive; for a task has been put upon you. You will easily receive blessing, since with the true labourers you will receive reward from the ineffable gifts of Christ. So be attentive to the tradition entrusted you by the Lord Jesus Christ. Construct the temple of God's name in the place which has been shown to you, where the fiery column had

its base of gold. And [build] the chapels for the saints in the places where they were sacrificed to the life of divine hope,[32] so that these tormented ones may be healed and the gospel be preached ever more successfully day after day, to bring everyone to the measure of the perfect stature of Christ's faith.'* When he had said this there was an earthquake, and as day dawned the vision was obscured.

* Eph. 4.13.

Arabic Va: 62. Do you now retain this explanation, Gregory, and let it be secure in your mind. Be long-suffering in teaching them, and bring them to the path of truth, and advance and set them in the triune faith.' At the end of this explanation the speaker departed from me, and left me in great awe. Then my mind was opened."

§756. "Now the creator of all, the maker and fashioner of all, the all-wise, the Lord of all, the omnipotent, the Saviour of all,[33]† the healer of all, has instructed you in order to make you familiar with his Godhead. Therefore he has shown you through us the path to life and the way to salvation, whereby you may obtain forgiveness. For this reason he revealed to me the vision of the future, for me to inform you and fulfil among you his will at this time. So hasten now to fulfil his words according to his commands. Come, let us build the chapels and put the martyrs to rest, that they in turn may bring you to renewal."

† Saviour of all: *amenagiwt*, lit. "who finds all," not a biblical expression. *βadt* read *amenagēt*, "all-knowing," which is the reading translated in *Ag*.

32. Where ... hope: *Ag*, where they became a living sacrifice for the sake of hope in God.

33. Saviour of all: *amenagiwt*: *Ag*, all-knowing, *pantognostēs*; see note.

§757. Having said this, he ordered them quickly[1] to prepare the material for the building. When the whole crowd of the populace heard this, each ran to prepare the materials. In the appointed places some piled up rocks, others stones, others bricks, others cedar wood. They made their preparations in joyful haste and in great fear.

Greek Vg: 83. After the holy one had expounded these things, astonishment seized each and all. They hastened to the grave of the holy virgins,

Greek Vo: 112. To them the blessed one said: "Let us all hasten to the building and lay to rest the remains of the saints."

§758. Saint Gregory himself took up the architect's line† and set out the foundations for the martyria† of repose of the blessed ones.[2] Each person in the whole crowd lent his help, and following the well-laid-out foundations they built up the completed edifice. Everyone put his hand to the task, women also helping according to their weaker feminine strength.[3] And thus they all worked together in faith and great fear, lest any one fail to obtain his share in the grace of salvation or be deprived of healing.

† Architect's line: *lar čartarut'ean*, *to tōn oikodomōn spartion* in *Ag*. For *čartar* see above, §722, and for *lar*, Ezechiel's vision, Ez. 40.3. It is common in Armenian, e.g. T'ovma Arcruni, 152, 293-294. See Yovhannēs Awjnec'i, *Himnarkēk' Ekełec'woy* [in his *Matenagrut'iwnk'*, 1834], 260, for the ritual of measuring and digging the foundations of a church, which Yovhannēs says is based on Ezechiel's vision and Gregory's building of the martyria. Cf. King Mirian's taking up the "line, *jali*," in the *Georgian Chronicles*, 112 [and Thomson, 123, n. 3], to start building the first church in K'art'li.

† Martyria: *vkayarans*, which *Ag* renders by *naous* here and in §759.

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1. Quickly: *Ag, om.*
2. Of repose of the blessed ones: *Ag, om.*
3. Feminine strength: *Ag*, nature.

§759. They raised three martyria: one on the north-eastern side of the city where the protegée[4] Rhipsime had been martyred with thirty-two companions.† They built the second to the south where Gaiane, her guardian, had been martyred with two[5] companions.† And the third they built close to the vat-store in the vineyard, where their lodging had been. They constructed and arranged these places, and adorned them[6] with burning lamps of gold and silver and kindled torches and flaming candelabra.†

† Thirty-two. See note to §210 for the uncertainty in the number of martyrs.

† North-east, south. Agathangelos varies slightly in giving the location of the martyrs: Rhipsime's was to the east [§768] or north-east [§759], Gaiane's was to the south [*passim*], and the third was in the vat-stores [to the north-east of the city, §150]. But in the *V* recension the martyria are to the east, south and west. These directions are relative to the *kat'olikē*. Garibian de Vartavan, "L'aspect primitif," 443, sees in the orientation of the martyria a parallel with the orientation of the most ancient Christian monuments in Jerusalem, and promises a future article on that subject.

† Lamps, torches, candelabra. There are several similar descriptions of processions in Armenian texts; see §834 below and the parallels cited in Thomson, *Agathangelos I*, ad loc.

§760. He ordered a casket to be made for each one of them, box-shaped,[7] of cedar planks firmly jointed together with iron nails. They all followed his orders and prepared as he had said. At the command[8] they brought the caskets made for the repose of the saints[9] to the door of the vat-store in front of saint Gregory. He took them and entered alone, allowing no one else to go inside. "It is not right for you to come near or approach them, for you have not yet been healed or purified by baptism." But he withdrew alone[10] and

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4. Protegée, *sanakan*: *Ag*, holy.

5. Thirty-two ... two: *Ag*, thirty-three ... three.

6. *Ag*: + throughout.

7. Box-shaped: *Ag, om.*

8. At the command: *Ag, om.*

9. Made ... saints: *Ag, om.*

10. Withdrew alone: *Ag*, took the caskets inside.

placed each of the saints in each one's casket; he wrapped each one in her clothing, and sealed them with the seal of Christ.†

† Seal of Christ: i.e. the sign of the cross; see Lampe, s.v. *sphragis.*

Greek Vg: and made wooden caskets for each.

Greek Vg: 85. Having said this, the holy one ordered the king's servants to guard them. The holy one approached the holy bodies alone and placed them in the caskets, wrapping each one in her own garments. [He closed the caskets] with nails and iron [fastenings]. He ordered graves to be dug in which he would bury the caskets.

Syriac Vs: 201. When the martyria had been built and the coffins made, then the martyr of Christ, lord Gregory, wrapped them in their clothing in those martyria; for they had brought him valuable royal garments which he had not accepted from them. 202. Nor did he permit them to approach them, saying: "You are not worthy, because you have not yet received baptism."

§761. The king and all the royal court and the magnates and princes and nobles and the entire army,[11] all brought sweet oils and precious incense and decorated wrappings of various colours, woven with silken and golden threads. And the queen and the royal princesses and the nobles' wives and magnates'[12] daughters brought for the saints purple robes, brocades of gold and blue, garments as white as snow. Similarly they hastened to pile up at the door of the vat-store gold and silver and linen.

Greek Vg: They also brought silk garments, everyone vying with one another to bring the most valuable. The king and queen provided tunics and coverings of gold and purple raiment, while the other magnates [provided] various other garments in order to wrap the saints.

§762. When saint Gregory came out, he saw these piled up by the door of the vat-store. But he did not allow them to offer anything of

11. All the royal ... army: *Ag*, the magnates and the army.

12. Magnates: *Ag, om.*

these to them, saying: "Did I not tell you earlier that it is unfitting for you to offer them anything of yours until you have been purified by baptism?[13] Nonetheless, your good will is advantageous for your salvation. But let all this be stored in the royal treasury until you be granted a shepherd and teacher by the benevolent providence of God, and you be provided with prelates, high-priests, overseeing bishops and priests of the ecclesiastical order[14]† for the illumination of God's love. Then all this will go for the service of the worship at the glorious altar of God through the appointed high-priest. But now come, let us put these to each one's repose."

† For the use of "high-priest, *k'ahanayapet*" for the Armenian chief bishop see the discussion in Thomson, Appendix to *Łazar*, "Patriarchal Titles," 272-274, and further references in Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 534. Agathangelos here, as often elsewhere [e.g. §791], gives a list of near-synonyms, which are rationalised in *Ag*. For *tesuč'*, "overseeing," see further §799.

Greek Vg: 84. Saint Gregory made an eloquent speech, saying: "May Christ, the true God and Son of God, accept your eagerness and the new beginning of your good fruit. But hold these back for a little and keep them intact, until you have been included in the light of rebirth and released from the darkness that grips you, and through holy baptism you have become the honey of the catholic church. When you have been robed in light, then you will be worthy to wrap the holy virgins through your own efforts. For now, just as you are stained by the error of idols, so your [offerings] are unworthy to be associated with the holy."

§763. Now king Trdat at that time was still totally in the form of a pig, save only that he could speak in human fashion. The claws of his hands and feet were like those of a pig, his face had turned into a snout,[15] he had great teeth like a large boar, and he was hairy over all his body.† He stood covering his face and head,[16] wrapped in a hair shirt—a dreadful sight in the midst of the people. Then he came

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13. Baptism: *Ag*, the bath of baptism.

14. Prelates ... order: *Ag*, priests and bishops and all the ecclesiastical order.

15. Those of a pig ... snout: *Ag*, were in the likeness of his face.

16. Covering his face and head: *Ag*, covered and.

forward and begged saint Gregory that at least his hands and feet might be healed, so that he might be worthy to participate, at least a little, in the construction of the saints' chapels.[17]†

† The description of Trdat has parallels with that of Nebuchadnezzar in Dan. 4.30 [The numbering of verses is different in the KJV, 4.33]. For the significance of the boar see §212 above.

† Chapels: *šinuack'*, lit. "buildings."

Greek Vo: King Tiridates, who was still in the form of a boar and had only regained human speech and sensation, approached saint Gregory and asked him that at least the hooves of his hands and feet might fall away, so that he could take part with those labouring at the constructions for the holy martyrs.

Arabic Va: 78. The blessed one said: "Come, all together, so that we may build [chapels] for the repose of the saints' bones." But the king, who was in that form [of a pig], save for a human mind and hearing, went up to the blessed Gregory, requesting that he pray for his hands and feet so that he might be able to join in with all those who could build temples for the virgins.

Syriac Vs: 196. "Now I urge and entreat your Holiness that you pray and request from God on my behalf that he give me the hands and feet of a man, in order that I may build a house of prayer for these holy martyrs, so that God may be reconciled with me."

§764. So the blessed Gregory[18] knelt to the Lord of all, the kind and benevolent God, throwing himself by the caskets which contained the blessed bodies of Christ's martyrs, and offered supplications, raising his arms stretched out to heaven and begging healing for all the people and the king.[19] Then he turned to the king and by the grace of Christ cured his feet and hands; the claws of his

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17. Construction...chapels: *Ag*, the work of the saints.

18. *Ag*: + entered [the vat-store] and.

19. *Ag*: + and everyone's crying and wailing and weeping filled the air.

feet and hands[20] fell off, so that he could play a small part in the work for the saints, labouring with his own hands.†

† The healing of the people is placed immediately after Gregory's return from the pit at Artašat in *Vg*, 63; see the text at *Aa* §222.

Greek Vo: The blessed Gregory, kneeling down and praying, supplicated the all-powerful God that healing be granted to the king. And behold, there was a voice from heaven saying: "Gregory, be firm and strong, because I am with you to the end. You will build me churches, and you will raise their horn. As for what you have prayed for, behold I have heard your voice and I shall grant you the favour which you requested." Turning to the king and touching his hands and feet, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ he restored him to human nature.

Arabic Va: Then the blessed Gregory knelt down and prayed, and in his prayer he begged almighty God that he might grant him salvation. Promptly he heard a voice from heaven saying: "Gregory, be firm and strong, because I am with you to the final end. Build the temples, and let their horn be exalted. As for your request, your prayer is now answered, and what you asked for I have now granted you." When the holy one heard this, he was encouraged. Turning towards the king, he touched his hands and feet in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and signed them with the cross; and straightway they returned to his human state.

Syriac Vs: 197. The martyr of Christ, lord Gregory, prayed for him, and from his shoulders downwards he became a man as before; but from his shoulders upwards [he remained] like a boar.

§765. Then[21] he asked Gregory what he would order him to do. He gave him the measure of the holy caskets so that he might dig out places for each one to lie in, and arrange these inside the martyrs' resting place.[22]† Then he begged Gregory to command, first concerning his wife Ašxēn and secondly for his sister called Xosroviduxt, that they too might be able to join in the work. He gave

20. Of his feet and hands: *Ag, om.*

21. *Ag*: + having been cured.

22. *Ag*: + in the places designated by the Lord.

a command, and they went with him to help in the task. And he took the measure of the caskets in order to dig out places for the repose of the saints inside the funerary chapels.†

† Martyrs' resting place: *i martyrosakan yarkin hangstean*, lit. "in the martyrial sanctuary of rest" [see §721 for *yark*], which *Ag* renders *en stoais tōn martyrōn*, "in the porticoes of the martyrs."

† Funerary chapels: *tačars hangstaranac'n*, lit. "temples of the resting places," which *Ag* renders "in the temple in the places of their repose." In its ecclesiastical sense *tačar* has special reference to the nave of a church, *naos*, as does the Syriac equivalent *hykl'*; see Yovhannēs Awjnec'i, *Matengrut'iwnk'*, 292, and Thomson, "Architectural Symbolism," esp. 110.

Greek Vg: 86. The king hastened to dig, his mind being now whole and his hearing receptive of instruction.

Greek Vo: The king began to ask the blessed Gregory what he might command. The latter gave him the measurements of the caskets for which he had to dig for the burial of the holy relics. The king began to ask the holy one to order his wife Ašxen and his sister Xosroviduxt to come, so that they could share in the building for the saints. After the blessed one had given permission, they set to work.

Arabic Va: Then the king began to say to the blessed one: "What do you command me?" The holy one gave him the measure of coffins so he might dig for them and the bodies of the saints. And the king said to the holy one: "Allow me to bring my wife Ašxen and my sister Xosroviduxt to help in building the holy places." And the blessed one gave him that permission.

Syriac Vs: Then he took with him his wife and sister and set to digging and building, while they carried the earth in their skirts.

§766. Then the king took an axe and spade and set out places for the repose of the saints according to the measure of the caskets. Similarly the other two, queen Ašxēn and the king's sister

Xosroviduxt, as he dug[23] gathered the earth into their clothes and removed it. In this way they prepared in order, in front the spot for saint Rhipsime, and behind it† that for the thirty-two[24] in the spot where their blessed martyrs' blood had been shed, in the place of repose prepared for the holy and glorious altar of Christ.[25] Similarly also at the martyrium which was to the south of the city he prepared the spot for the blessed Gaiane and her two[26] companions.† King Trdat himself with his sister Xosroviduxt and queen Ašxēn arranged with their own hands the resting-places for each of the saints.[27]

† In front, behind it [or behind her]: *yaṙaǰakołmn, zkni nora. Yaṙaǰakołmn* means in the front, though *zkni* can mean "behind" in space, or "after" in time. This is translated in *Ag* as "first, then," in accordance with the reading of *βad, yaṙaǰagoyn*, "first," and omitting the following *zkni nora.* The text indicates that they were all buried beneath the sanctuary, "in the place of … altar."

† Thirty-two, two: see above, §759, etc.

Greek Vg: The queen and the king's sister Xosroviduxt also were zealous to add their efforts to their labours by removing the earth that had been dug out.

Greek Vo: 113. Taking a pickaxe, the king dug out the sites in which the caskets of the saints were to be buried. His wife and sister, using their own garments instead of baskets, carried away the earth. In this way, one after the other they laid to rest the holy Rhipsime and the thirty-two who died with her in a good confession in the spot where they were martyred. Likewise they built the other house of prayer in the place where the blessed Gaiane was martyred with the three virgins, and they buried their remains right there. In addition they also built a chapel at the press, in which they buried the honourable remains of the virgin martyred at that spot.

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23. As he dug: *Ag, om.*

24. Thirty-two: *Ag*, thirty-three.

25. In the place … Christ: *Ag*, for the name of Christ.

26. Two: *Ag*, three.

27. The resting-places … saints: *Ag*, the places of each one.

Arabic Va: 79. Then the king took an axe and dug out [places] for the coffins in which they could place the bodies of the saints. His wife and sister joined him in digging, and in place of baskets they carried away the soil in their clothes. After that they brought the bodies of the saints, of the blessed Rhipsime and of the thirty-two who had been martyred with her, to the place where they had suffered martyrdom. And they built another church where the blessed Gaiane and the three virgins with her had been martyred, and brought their bodies to the place where they were killed. And they built another church in the press where the other virgin who had hidden had been killed.

§767. Then the king came and asked leave from saint Gregory to make a seven-day journey up to the lofty[28] mountain Masis.† From the summit of the mountain he took solid stones, unworked, unhewn, immense, heavy, wide, enormous and huge,[29] which no single person could ever[30] move, not even a great number of men. But he with giant strength like Hayk's[31]† picked up eight columns† and on his own back carried them to the martyria.[32] He set up four columns as door-posts for each,[33] in compensation as it were for the thoughtless struggle he had waged with the saint in his own chamber, where conquering by [God's] all-protective grace, she had done such marvels. He now showed everyone as a crown of victory the labour of his own strong hands.[34]

† Masis, the modern Ağri dağ. For the name see Hewsen, *Atlas*, 15, and idem, *Geography*, 217-8, for a description. Masis plays a major role in the fragments of Armenian epic recorded in Movsēs Xorenac'i's *History*, e.g. I 30, II 49, 61; cf. Russell, "Armeno-Iranica II. Armenian Masis." But only later was it identified with the spot where Noah's ark landed. According to the *Buzandaran* Noah's ark landed in Korduk'; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 489, *s.v.* Sararad/Ararad.

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28. *Ag*: + and great.
29. Solid ... huge: *Ag*, unworked stones, massive, enormous in breadth and length.
30. Ever: *Ag*, easily.
31. Like Hayk's: *Ag, om.*
32. Martyria: *Ag*, doors of the temples.
33. Four ... each: *Ag*, door-posts and lintels.
34. Where ... hands: *Ag, om.*

† Hayk, the eponymous ancestor of the Armenians [*Hay-k'*]; see Movsēs Xorenac'i, I 10-12, for the legendary account of his settling in Armenia.

† Eight columns: since four were required for each chapel, this number makes no sense for three martyria, but no variant is attested. But here *Aa* probably intends the chapels for Rhipsime and Gaiane only, the *kat'olikē* being a separate construction, and omitting the chapel for the single nun from the wine-press [which was later known as *Šołakat'*]; see also n. 35 in the Introduction.

Greek Vg: 87. Tiridates asked leave from saint Gregory to fetch on his back stones for building door [posts], in order to be changed from his wild form. Granted permission to do so, he ascended the mountain called Masis, and had twelve enormous stones quarried for the holy chapels of the three burial places where the martyred virgins had been placed. To make one entrance for each chapel they needed four stones, which the king brought by carrying them on his back. For he possessed great strength, and with added enthusiasm his strength energised that noble man even more.

Greek Vo: After the building of the chapels had been completed and the burial of the holy remains had taken place, the king asked saint Gregory to permit him to go off as far as the nearby mountain of Ararat, which is called Masis. When he arrived at the mountain, he found eight enormous stones. These he hewed out and brought to the houses of prayer, where they were to serve for the posts of the doors and their lintels.

Arabic Va: When they had finished building the churches and had brought to them the bodies of the saints, the king asked saint Gregory to permit him to go off to the mountain called Ararat, in the place called Masis, in order to bring from there on his own shoulders lintels [isākaf, or "doorsteps"] and posts for the doors of the churches, 80. and that his appearance of a pig might be removed from him. He ordered him to do that. Then he went up the very high mountain Masis, and there hewed out twelve great stones for the three holy churches in which they had placed the bodies of the virgins: for each temple one door, and for each door four stones, which he brought on his shoulders. For he was a strong giant, and his strength had been greatly increased by his faith.

Syriac Vs: 198. He entreated saint Gregory again, saying: "My lord, in return for the torments and the cruel deaths which I inflicted on those saints, order me to go to Mount Masis, which is hollowed and seven days distant from here, and that I bring from it stones to be posts for the doors of the house of these holy martyrs." 199. He gave the command, and he went to Mount Masis which is hollowed. And he brought from there eight very large stones which twenty men could not have carried. He carried four on his shoulders and four in his arms. And he made them the posts for the two doors of the two martyria that he built for the saints. 200. He wept and entreated and urged them to pray for him, that God might forgive him for killing them.

§768. Having constructed and arranged all three holy martyria, they adorned them and suitably decorated them. Then they brought each one to her place of martyrdom.[35] Saint Gaiane he placed in the chapel of the martyrium† to the south with *the two companions of her martyrdom.[36] Similarly the blessed Rhipsime with her thirty-two[37] companions they placed in the chapel constructed to the east.[38] And the single[39] [martyr] who had been killed in the vat-store had her chapel to the north of the city. Having brought all the saints together, they transferred the crusading† martyrs of Christ each to the resting place built for her.[40] According to the command of the vision which had earlier appeared to Gregory, so was it accomplished.

† Chapel of the martyrium: *vkayarani tačar*, rendered in *Ag* by *naos*; see note to §765.

† Crusading: *xač'akan*; cf. *xač'akir* of the band of Maštoc' disciples, Koriwn, 38.

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35. Brought ... martyrdom: *Ag*, placed each of the saints in her own place.

36. The two ... martyrdom: *Ag*, her three companions.

37. Thirty-two: *Ag*, thirty-three.

38. East: *Ag*, to the south-east of the city.

39. *Ag*: + ill.

40. Having ... her: *Ag*, so they transferred all those who had suffered for Christ to the place of each one's burial [*katathesis*].

Greek Vg: 88. When they had erected the three holy temples, saint Gregory fixed crosses to the east; but he did not yet build an altar, for he did not have priestly rank.†

† See *Aa* §782, and *Vg* 107 below.

Arabic Va: 81. Now when they had completed those three holy churches, he placed three crosses in them on the east. But he did not place altars in them, because he was not a priest.

§769. Underneath the domes,[41]† over the resting-places of the life-enclosing tombs on the sites of the altars, he set up in each of the three martyria the holy sign of the Lord's cross.† "Only in front of the all-saving sign," he said, "should you worship the Lord God your creator. Behold, firm pillars have been set up for your insubstantial edifice.† These are the pillars which bear the heavy weight of the edifice of your salvation. Behold three pillars; the fourth is the pillar of life which will raise you to God.† Come, let us honourably enclose[42] the place that has been indicated and commanded us for the Lord's house."

† Underneath the domes: *i nerk'sagoyn xoranac'n*, or "inside the canopies." *Xoran* can mean a dome, a tent, or baldacchino; see above §737, 748.

† Note the stress on setting up a cross in the descriptions of Gregory fixing the sites of future churches. On the importance of the cross in Armenian Christianity and its origin in the practice of Jerusalem see Renoux, "La croix dans le rite arménien. Histoire et symbolisme."

† Insubstantial: *xarxul*, lit. "tottering," rendered in *Ag* by *katestrammenē*, "overthrown."

† Fourth pillar: i.e. the site of the *kat'olikē*.

§770. So with the king and all the people he went to the place where the fiery pillar with the golden base had been revealed, and there they honourably enclosed the spot with a high wall and secured it with doors and bolts. There too they set up the sign of the saving cross, so that all who came to that spot might kneel and worship God, the almighty creator.†

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41. Underneath the domes, *xorank'*: *Ag*, inside the three chapels, *naoi*.

42. Honourably enclose: *Ag*, wall around with an enclosure.

† For the early building on this site see Garibian de Vartavan, "L'aspect primitif," with references to the archaeological excavations.

§771. In this way he illuminated the hearts and souls of the people by his preaching, seasoning them with divine salt. They abandoned[43] the vain worship of useless idols made by hand, and turned to worship the benevolent God.

§772. After this they willingly set themselves to fasting and prayer, and devoted themselves to fear and love and attention to God's preaching.

Syriac Vs: 203. All the nobles and the rest of the people begged him to pray for the king, so that his face might become as before. Then the martyr of Christ, lord Gregory, decreed for them a fast of forty days, from evening to evening. 204. And he set them to prayer facing the east. They entreated God to accept them and to pardon their sins, and not to requite them in accordance with their deeds, but in his great mercy to forgive them their follies.

§773. Now when they had all gathered together in the place of worship of the house of God,[44] the blessed Gregory began to speak, saying: "Bend your knee, everyone, so that the Lord may effect the healing of your torments." They all knelt, and the blessed Gregory with fervent prayers and supplications, with tears and mortification, implored healing for the king.[45] Then the king, while he was standing among the people with the appearance of a pig,[46] suddenly trembled and threw off from his body the pig-like hide with its tusk-like teeth and snout-like face, and he cast off the thick skin with its pig-like hair.[47]† His face returned to its own form, and his body became soft

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43. They abandoned, turned: *Ag*, he removed [them from], he turned [them].

44. Of the house of God: *Ag*, *om*.

45. For the king: *Ag*, *om*.

46. Of a pig: *Ag*, afore-mentioned.

47. With its … hair: *Ag*, with its ugly face and the teeth and thick hair, and shed the very thick skin.

and young like that of a newly born infant; he was completely healed in all his limbs.

† Cf. the falling away of the fish-like scales from the skin of Constantine as he was being baptised in the apocryphal *Life of Silvester*; Armenian text, 736-737, Thomson, "The Armenian Versions," 94-95.

Greek Vg: 89. Kneeling down and making everyone bow down, he prayed and with tears begged that the king's form might be changed from its wild state to the appearance of a man. While the holy one and all the people were praying together with the king, as it were scales fell off the king's body, and all his wild aspect was transformed as the hairs and nails fell away; and he was restored to his former human nature.

Arabic Va: 82. Then the blessed Gregory prostrated himself, and he ordered the whole crowd to fall down and with weeping and entreaties to pray for the king, that his bestial appearance might return to his previous human nature. And while the blessed one was praying with all the people, the king standing by, there fell from the king's body as it were scales, and his bestial appearance with its bristles and filth left him, and he was restored to human nature.

Syriac Vs: 205. Saint Gregory exhorted them and taught them the path of life. At the end of the forty days, while they were at prayer and beseeching and supplicating God, suddenly king Trdat shook, and his face was restored as before, and he became a complete man.

§774. In similar fashion all the people who were gathered in great numbers were cured of each one's affliction: some had been lepers, some paralytic, or crippled, hydropic, demon-possessed, suffering from worms or gout. Thus Christ with his benevolent grace opened his all-powerful pharmacy, and healed all through Gregory; those afflicted were cured of each one's disease. So also was the fount of knowledge of Christ opened, and it filled the ears of all with the true teaching of God.†

† So also was the fount … end of §776. This is modelled on the description of Armenia's blessings following the invention of the script; see Koriwn, 56. See the discussion in the Introduction regarding Maštoc' as a model for Gregory's missionary journeys. Here, and in Koriwn, "the land" is Armenia; but the regions "where the divine miracles had been worked…"

refers to Christ's activity in the Holy Land, and the "earlier messages" are those of the prophets.

Syriac Vs: 206. They all rejoiced and praised and glorified God, and kissed the feet of lord Gregory. There were those among them in whom were evil spirits, and they were healed; and lepers, and they were purified; and sick, and they were healed; and blind, and they saw. Even many dead that martyr of Christ raised during those forty days.

§775. Then there was heartfelt rejoicing and a joyful visage on the onlookers. For the land, which until then had been ignorant of reports of those regions[48] where all the divine miracles had been worked, now suddenly was informed of what had occurred—not only of what had been done, but also of the earlier messages, and what later came about, of the beginning and the end, and of all the divine traditions.[49]

Greek Vg: 90. Praising God who had saved and chastised them benevolently, and thanking the consubstantial Trinity, they left the temples of the holy martyrs with the holy Gregory—he who had struggled for Christ and brought all the people of Armenia and the land to the true knowledge of God. 91. Then those assigned to embellish the temples with the priest assigned to the offering [of the liturgy ...] the holy one commanded some to guard and attend to the holy temples that had been built, appointing subsistence for them from the royal household. 92. The king set out for the city of Vałaršapat with Gregory, the victorious [martyr] of Christ, and all the magnates, who had been delivered from the afflictions that beset them and from the most impious cult of idols, and had then turned to pious deeds and righteousness. King Tiridates, on arriving in the region of Vałaršapat, by means of written royal commands ordered all the toparchs and satraps, princes and leaders to gather in the king's presence at Vałaršapat. He also wrote to the kings of the Iberians and Albanians, indicating in the edicts

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48. *Ag*: + of unbelief.

49. Not only ... traditions: The version in *Ag* is quite divergent in wording but not content. There are also considerable variations here in the Armenian manuscript tradition.

everything that had happened to them, and that they should come with great speed.

Arabic Va: 83. Then they thanked the Lord who had saved and instructed them in accordance with the abundance of his mercy, and they glorified the Trinity. They departed from the holy [churches] accompanied by Gregory, who had suffered martyrdom for Christ's sake and had converted all those in the land of Armenia to knowledge of the God of truth. 84. They promised the holy one and said: "When there will be a priest in charge of the churches, we shall adorn them with whatever we can." Then the blessed one ordered guardians and ministers to look after the churches and to serve them, and their upkeep to be from the king's palace. 85. The king set out for the city of Vałaršapat with Gregory, the martyr of Christ. They were both accompanied by all the princes, who had been freed from all their afflictions and from the worship of idols, and had then turned to deeds of piety and justice. When king Trdat came to the city of Vałaršapat, he ordered the scribes of his kingdom to be present. He commanded them to write letters to all the inhabitants of his kingdom, to the effect that the princes and nobles and magnates and lords should come to the king's presence in the city of Vałaršapat, and [to write] letters to [the king of the Abxaz and] the king of the Georgians, and a letter to the king of the Albanians. And he explained to them in the letters everything that had occurred, and said: "So you must rapidly come to me."

§776. When they had been informed of the exactness of these things, they were all the more willing and anxious to learn and study the new doctrine, and as ignorant men to be instructed and edified in this preaching. From every region and province of Armenia they excitedly came to the opened source of the grace of the knowledge of Christ. For in the province of Ayrarat, at the royal residence, there flowed forth for the Armenian house of T'orgom† the grace of the preaching of the gospel of God's commandments.[50]

† T'orgom; see §16 above.

Arabic Va: Here the Arabic inserts a list of nobles; cf. *Aa* §795.

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50. When ... commandments: *Ag* is much abbreviated.

86. So when the letters arrived, the three kings, the king of the Abxaz and the king of the Georgians and the king of the Albanians, came to him, and with them a group of princes: first, the prince of jybs; second, the prince of Arzianene called the great pitaqš; third, the prince of 'rmṭn; fourth, the prince of 'sbytywn called 'sbyts, who was in charge of guarding the mountains qwsywn and mṭznywn; fifth, the prince of mqwny'nwn by the name of asparabatēs. He was in charge of the army of all Armenia, cavalry and infantry; he did not leave the side of the king of Greater Armenia, and in war all the princes whom we have recorded, and shall mention, were under his authority, except that the prince of Korduene was not under his authority, which [region] is beside the strongholds of qrd̲yṭn. Seventh was the governor of the large province of ṣwfnys, which is next to the province of the rivers; eighth, the prince of the province of Gugark'; ninth, the prince of Řštunik'; tenth, the prince of Mokk;' eleventh, the prince of Siwnik' and guardian; twelfth, the prince of dsbwd'wn; thirteenth, the prince of 'tbwn; fourteenth, the prince of zwrydwn and he is next to qrd̲yṭwn; fifteenth, the prince of k̲rk̲wrnywn, general, who was the governor of mlk̲'zwn'h; sixteenth, the prince of Arcrunik'. And all the nations gathered according to their rank. 87. These are the sixteen princes whom the king listed and to whom he sent [the summons] because of their honour. And they discussed their mutual affairs, and decided that they would go to him, which they did. 88. When they had arrived in his presence, king Trdat said to them: "Great kings, and princes of provinces, and royal armies, nobles and magnates, do you know what was done by our command, and the destruction of magism, and what we did to that holy man and the pure virgins? We were in error and perdition in our worship of idols, and their priests who served them, and we tortured those who love the living God. It pleased God to punish us through demons; those we used to worship and praise and honour, through those he punished us. While he whom we tortured, him he saved from all afflictions and from the death that we offered him, so that he might teach us the path of truth." 89. He related to them everything that had happened to him, and he said to the princes: "What seems good to you in this matter?" Then the princes and all the Armenians were filled with awe and joy, and quickly shouted: "We obey Gregory, and his faith we believe, and his words we learn. We shall obey and submit to him, and we shall do whatever the holy one may command us, and we shall reject the worship of idols." 90. They all looked towards the holy one, and he began to instruct them more elaborately than before, and to strengthen in their hearing the interpretation of the divine holy scriptures. He cured all through faith in the Trinity, and grounded them to believe in the one God Father omnipotent, and in his only Son, true God born from true God and not created, and the holy Spirit that proceeds. And he asked from them as a pledge of their faith that they destroy the temples of idols.

§777. He then took unanimous counsel with the king and the nobles, the princes and the army,[1] concerning a common peace: they agreed to overthrow, destroy and extirpate the scandals, to suppress them entirely lest there be thenceforth an obstacle to anyone or a stumbling block preventing him from attaining celestial freedom;* and that all might be strengthened and attain perfect blessing, the goal[2] indicated by the blessed Paul: "That in unity we may attain the measure of the stature of Christ,"* whose freedom is in heaven, "[whence] we look for the great Saviour,"* God, and our boast is in the cross* and our joy in the glory of God.

* Rom. 8.21. * Eph. 4.13. * Phil. 3.20. * Gal. 6.14.

Greek Vg: 100. When they had all assembled, king Tiridates addressed them: "Royal persons, and toparchs, heads of clans and families, and phylarchs, you have learned of the impious acts inflicted by us on that holy man and the holy virgins. For we had gone astray in a destructive error towards the cult of dumb idols [...] and we punished those who worshipped the living God. So God wished to chastise us through the demons we revered and to punish us; and saving the one whom we had punished from the mortal dangers we had inflicted, he guided us to the path of truth." 101. After recounting everything that had taken place, he enquired from the kings what might seem good to them. They all alike were filled with awe and joy, and cried out that they would willingly heed Gregory and follow his faith; they would comply with and submit to the teaching of his doctrine, and would carry out the holy one's instructions, renouncing the cult of the idols. 102. They all turned their eyes towards saint Gregory, who expounded in their hearing explanations from the inspired scriptures of similar and even superior teaching. He strengthened them all in the faith of the Trinity, and firmly grounded them in belief in God the Father almighty, and the only–begotten Son, true God born from true God, and in the holy Spirit.

1. The princes and the army: *Ag, om.*

2. Goal: *Ag*, according to the saying.

Syriac Vs: 207. Then the king and the nobles ordered that all the temples of idols of his realm be destroyed, and that they break their sculpted [images].

§778. Straightway the king by sovereign command, with the agreement of all, entrusted the blessed Gregory with the task of obliterating and extirpating the former ancestral supposed deities of his forefathers, falsely called gods.[3] Then the king in person hastened with all his army from the city of Vałaršapat and came to the city of Artašat in order to destroy the altars of the deity Anahit[4] there,† and those which were in the places called Erazamoyn.† On the road he first came across the shrine of the god Tir, the interpreter of dreams, the scribe of pagan learning, who was called the secretary of Ormizd,[5] a temple of learned instruction.† [Here] first they set to work, and destroyed, burned, ruined and razed it.

† Anahit: Artemis in *Ag*; see above, §48.

† Places called Erazamoyn, Tir. On this shrine devoted to the interpretation of dreams see Mahé, "Proverbes et énigmes," and Russell, *Zoroastrianism*, 296-297, and *idem*, "Sleep and Dreaming."

† The text in *Ag* is interpretive rather than literal: "[... to the city of Artašat in order to destroy the altar there of Artemis] in the places called *oneiromousoi*. As they were departing, first they came across the place called *oneiropolōn* ["of dream interpreters"], *oneirodeiktōn* ["of dream explainers"], the worship of the demon Grammateus ["secretary"] and the learning of priests. It was called Tridis [*Aa*: *Tri-dic'*, "of the god Tir"], the altar of Apollo the scribe of Zeus, of learned teaching of priests." Some renderings are clear:

Erazamoyn: *oneiromousoi*

Erazac'oyc', erazahan: *oneiropolōn, oneirodeiktōn*

Dpir: *grammateus*

Tri-dic': Tridis Apollo [Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 12, renders *Tir* by *Apollo*]

Grič': *chartoularios*

Ormizd [a later form for Aramazd]: Zeus.

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3. *Ag*: + and their altars.

4. Altars ... Anahit: *Ag*, the altar of Artemis.

5. Ormizd: *Ag*, Zeus.

Greek Vg: Then he sought from them pledges of their faith, urging them also to the overturning of the idols. 103. In the first place Tiridates himself ordered the destruction of the temples of his fathers. After that he traveled with saint Gregory and the kings and all the magnates to the city of Artaxata, and ordered the temple of Artemis to be destroyed, likewise too the so-called Oracle of Apollo. And breaking up the gold and silver votive-offerings, he ordered them to be kept for the adornment of the martyria that were to be erected.

Greek Vo: 114. When the martyria of the holy virgins had been completed, Tiridates gave full authority to saint Gregory to overturn his ancestral temples of idols. And he permitted him to destroy the idols found in them, which Tiridates himself used to worship, in order to wipe out even the memory of the abominable idols that are not gods. The king himself left the city of Vałaršapat in order to reach the town of Artašat with saint Gregory. As they were travelling they came to a certain town called Tridis, where there was a temple of Apollo full of demons, in which all the priests used to make divinations through the activities of the demons. 115. At the king's command they overthrew it from its base.

Arabic Va: 91. As his first action king Trdat began with the destruction of the temple that his fathers had built in the city of Artašat; and he seized the gold, silver, precious stones, and all the utensils of the worship of the gods, the description of which would be lengthy. Then king Trdat went out accompanied by the blessed Gregory and all the princes, and they came to the city of qṣṭn, and he ordered the temple of Artemis to be overthrown. After that they went to their soothsayer, that is the temple of Apollo, and from it they took away the gold, silver, and all the objects of his cult. These he handed over to the treasury, for it to store them for the adornment of the church that they intended to build.

Syriac Vs: 208. There was a large temple there in which were twelve great idols covered with gold and silver in the town of Bagavan. This was famous in all Armenia, and many demons dwelt in it.

Syriac Vs: 212. They went from there to the town of Erez. There was there a molten [image] of gold in the form of a man, and it interpreted dreams. Demons came out of it in the form of men, armed and riding on horses, and offered fierce battle to them. They threw arrows and stones at them, but could not subdue them.

§779. There the demons took visible form in the likeness of a multitude of cavalry and a force of infantry, bearing lances and javelins, rushing forward like men fully armed with spears and standards. With a great shout they raised a cry and fled, rushing into the temple of Anahit, whence they attacked those who had arrived. From the building they showered down on the men below harmless arrows and a dense rain of missiles, but they scarcely frightened those with newly-found faith. When saint Gregory saw this, he made the sign of the Lord's cross and ran to the door of the temple. Then the whole edifice of the temple shook from its foundations and collapsed. Suddenly catching fire, the wooden construction burned by the power of the Lord's sign, and the smoke rose up to the clouds.†

† That the cross expels demons is a standard topos; see Lampe, s.v. *stauros*, E. Cf. the addition in *Ag* to the reference to the cross in *Aa* §782.

Greek Vg: 104. When the demons saw what was happening and the enthusiasm of the kings and all the people, they changed into human form. They appeared both like cavalry and as armed foot soldiers, endeavouring to chase them off with spears; from the temples they threw missiles and pikes and stones, which fell harmlessly without wounding anyone. Saint Gregory made the sign of the honourable and life-giving Cross, armed against the troops that had appeared,

Greek Vo: On seeing this, the demons in control of the temple began to shout loudly and to leave that place; they took over the temple of Artemis in the town of Artašat. Transformed into a regiment of armed soldiers, they surrounded the temple and began to attack the royal army with missiles, so that the newly converted might be cast into fear at the sight. When the blessed one saw their deceitful activities, he made the sign of the Lord's Cross opposite to them and took hold of the temple door. Immediately the temple collapsed from its foundations, and suddenly by the power of the Lord's Cross fire consumed the very foundations of the temple until the smoke rose up to the clouds.

Arabic Va: 92. But when the demons saw what was happening and the zeal of the king to seize that [wealth] with all his princes, the demon [sing.] appeared to them among the forces of the cavalry on horses and

as infantry with arms and weapons, and with spears and arrows and lances and stones, and they were shooting at them from the temple. But their weapons fell uselessly, nor did they harm anyone. Fear seized those who did not yet believe firmly in God. Then saint Gregory made the sign of the sacred cross, picked up a long lance, and went into the midst of the army of demons.

Syriac Vs: 209. The king rode off, and all his troops with him; they also took saint Gregory with them. When they reached there, the demons came out in the form of armed men riding horses, and they joined battle with them. They threw arrows and stones. They reached the men but could not subdue them.

Syriac Vs: 213. Some of the men were frightened of facing them, because they had not yet been confirmed in the faith. Now Gregory was standing at the rear of the camp, and realised this in the Spirit. He hastened and came to the front of it. He made the sign of the Cross, and immediately the demons were driven away.

§780. Then all the demons turned in flight and appeared in front of the people, tearing their clothes at the collar[6] and striking their foreheads.* Raising a scream they loudly wept, saying: "Woe to us, woe to us, woe to us; for Jesus the son of Mary, daughter of men, has made us flee from the whole land. And here too through this imprisoned and dead [man][7] he has forced us to flee. But whither shall we flee, for his glory has filled the universe?* We shall go to the Caucasus mountain, to the northern regions; perhaps there we shall be able to survive.† For [he has made us] ceaselessly beat the air, and has separated us from the habitation of men, so that we [cannot][8] accomplish our desires through them."

* I Macc. 5.14. * Is. 6.3.

† Demons flee to the Caucasus: cf. Conybeare, *Apology and Acts of Apollonius*, 12: the demons reproach Eugenius for expelling them and flee to the Caucasus. For the "mopping up" of defeated demons in their old

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6. At the collar: *Ag, om.*

7. [Man]: *Ag*, Gregory.

8. *Ag*: cannot.

haunts and their expulsion to distant places see Mango, "Diabolus Byzantinus."

Greek Vg: and they all disappeared. Their voices were heard, saying: "Woe to us, for Christ God has expelled us from everywhere; and the one born from Mary, daughter of man, has done this to us. So behold, here too we are cast out through an imprisoned man. Although we have brought on [him] very many terrible things, we have gained no profit. Let us then make for the mountains."

Greek Vo: All the crowds of demons fled from before the men, wailing and audibly saying: "Woe to us, for Jesus, the one preached by Gregory, has expelled us from the whole land and we must flee from here. Where shall we go, whither shall we depart, for his glory has filled the world?"

Arabic Va: These, when he appeared, on the spot tore their garments and disappeared as if they had not existed. Only their voice could be heard, saying: "Woe to us from Christ, who has expelled us from all places, the one born from the virgin Mary, daughter of man. Behold, now we are driven hence on account of the man who was bound and imprisoned in the well. On him we inflicted various torments, but it did not benefit us at all. Let us now go to the Caucasus mountains, and let us dwell in the northern region." 93. Saint Gregory destroyed all those temples, while king Trdat ordered the ministers of the temples to adopt the Christian religion, and the utensils of the cult partly to be given to the poor and partly to be taken to the royal treasury. They did likewise also in the land of the Laz and of the Georgians and of the Albanians. All the kings were of one mind, to become perfect in faith in our Lord Christ and to turn away from the worship of idols. 94. Then the king hastened to overthrow the temple of Zeus, to seize the gold and silver that were in it and take them to the treasury. This was carried out. And he ordered the temples to be overthrown in every city and their paraphernalia to be kept, until someone would be put in charge and do with them as he might wish.

Syriac Vs: 210. But the king and his army pursued them, and they cried out, saying: "Woe to us for the mercy of God has spread out over the whole world. Where now shall we flee?" Gregory made the sign of the Cross and said: "Go to the Caucasus mountain which is in Roman territory."

Syriac Vs: 214. They wept and howled and said: "Woe to us, woe to us. What has happened to us from the man who was imprisoned? His body was scraped and he was thrown in a pit for complete destruction. His hope was cut off by us. 215. And now he comes and springs up against us. Behold, he expels us from our land. Whither shall we flee from the strength of the Cross, we do not know." 216. The martyr of Christ, lord Gregory, shouted out and said to them: "Go to the Caucasus mountain which is in the territory of the Romans." The people, when they saw and heard these things, were confirmed in the faith, and they praised God who had saved them. 217. Saint lord Gregory opened his mouth and exhorted them, saying: "See your gods that you worshipped, how they have no strength, not even to help themselves; nor are they able to oppose the power of the Cross." And those demons vanished.

§781. This they said in front of everyone, but the men who heard were all even more confirmed in the faith. Then the black swarm of demons disappeared;† they vanished and were lost from that place like smoke.† But the people who had come razed the remaining foundations,[9] and distributed the accumulated[10] treasures to the poor, the suffering and the needy.[11] And they devoted to the service of the church the [temple's] property and servants† with the pagan priests and their lands and territories.†

† Black swarm: demons are black; see Russell, "A Scholium," 64, with references in n. 3; also Mango, "Diabolus," 217.

† Like smoke; as the evil spirit that left the man cured by Nunē in Juanšēr, 57.

† Servants: *spasawors*, in *Ag hyperetai*. Movsēs Xorenacʻi, II 48, refers to the *cařaykʻ* of the pagan temple. Agathangelos stresses throughout the transfer of temple properties to the church, and generally claims that the pagan priests were converted, save that at Aštišat [§813] they were killed when the whole site was destroyed by a divine wind. See §781 and 786, and implicitly in §784, 785, 790. For the conversion of the priests' families see §840, 845.

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9. The remaining foundations: *Ag*, the temple from its foundations.

10. Accumulated: *Ag, om.*

11. *Ag*: + and orphans and widows.

† For temple estates conveyed to the church see Hewsen, *Geography*, 308-319, Appendix V, "Territorial Analysis of the *naxarar* System."

Greek Vg: 105. Saint Gregory, having demolished the temples, urged king Tiridates to order the priests to be converted to the Christian faith; and of the votive-offerings, some to be given to the needy, and others to be kept in the royal treasuries. Being of a single mind, they were zealous to attain perfection and to be firmly established in the faith of Christ, now that they had been released from the error of idols.

Greek Vo: Saying this they disappeared, dissipated like smoke. 116. The multitudes of believers were even more strengthened in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and running into the temple they razed the remnants of the foundations completely. Seizing the treasures offered in the past to the abominable [idols] by those in error, they distributed them to the needy, to orphans and widows.

Syriac Vs: 211. Immediately they vanished like smoke, weeping. The men heard their voice and praised God who had saved them. They broke up those temples, took their gold and silver, and divided [some of] it among the needy; what was left they kept for the building of churches.

§782. He sowed the word of godly piety[12] among them all and set everyone on the Lord's path, informing them of the Creator's commands. In all the towns of Armenia, and the villages and hamlets and estates he indicated sites for the house of God. He did not draw the foundation[13] or erect an altar anywhere to the name of God,[14] because he did not possess the rank of priesthood.† But he simply encircled the places with a wall and set up the sign of the Lord's cross. Similarly he set up the same sign worshipped by all as a guard and refuge[15] at the ends and beginnings of roads, in the streets, and at squares and intersections.†

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12. Piety: *Ag*, knowledge.

13. *Ag*: + of a church.

14. Anywhere ... God: *Ag, om.*

15. Worshipped ... refuge: *Ag*, and taught all to consider it a refuge for the expulsion of demons, so that they might worship before it without doubting.

† Agathangelos emphasises throughout that Gregory was the first ordained person in Armenia, disregarding any traditions of earlier missionaries. Until his consecration as bishop in Caesarea [which constitutes a major feature in the *History*] Gregory was a layman. His direct jump from lay to episcopal status was a matter of concern to the author of the Arabic version, see below, note to §805.

† The veneration of the cross was a notable feature of early Armenian Christianity, no doubt with reflections of Jerusalemite practice. See Renoux, "La croix," and for the influence of the cross set up on Calvary circa 417, Thierry, "Héraclius." Cf. also Der Nersessian, "Une apologie."

Greek Vg: 107. Saint Gregory set up crosses and established enclosures on the sites of the temples. He set out for each place with the king and the rest of the people, but without building altars, for he did not possess the rank of priesthood. He said that the sign of the Cross should be set up in towns and villages and fields in order to expel demons everywhere.

[See also above *Vg* 88.]

Greek Vo: The servant of God, Gregory, brought† *them all to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ; and in that very spot he built a chapel and set up a cross. From among them he appointed ministers whose duty was to carry out services to the Lord in that holy place.*

† *epanēgagen:* Garitte suggests the emendation *pantas ēgagen.*

Arabic Va: 95. Saint Gregory ordered them to set up crosses and to enclose the temples with walls; and he ordered them, that is, the kings and all the nobles, to build churches without altars because they did not have a priesthood. And he ordered them to fix crosses in the markets and streets and in every place, so that the demons would be expelled from those places. And everywhere he preached the word of God, and he was superior in all learning, and the holy Spirit was with him, helping him according to his intention.

§783. Then he took the men of the Arsacid family and instructed them[16] in [Christian] doctrine. Of these the foremost was Trdat, who was the king, with all his household. Similarly he attempted to direct

16. Instructed them: *Ag*, commanded them to study.

and bring every soul to the knowledge of the truth. And when he had thus filled every place with the Lord's gospel, and had warned everyone to walk the paths of life without fault, then he persuaded them all[17] to worship only the Lord their God and to serve him alone.*

* Mt. 4.10, Lk. 4.8.

Greek Vg: Thus in all places he preached the word of God, being powerful in all instruction and also having the holy Spirit as collaborator in his zeal.

Greek Vo: Going round every town and village he strengthened them all in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and building chapels everywhere he set up the sign of the cross.

§784. Then he entrusted them to the all-protecting[18] grace of God, while he himself, taking the king, hastened to other regions of the whole territory of Armenia, so that they might sow the word of life. He came to the province of Daranałik‘ in order to destroy the altars[19] of those falsely called gods, where in the village of T‘ordan there was a famous temple of the glorious god[20] Baršamin.† First they destroyed this and smashed his image; they plundered all the treasures, both of gold and of silver, and distributed them to the poor. And the whole village with its properties and territories they devoted to the name of the church. Here too they set up a copy of the all-saving[21] sign.

† Daranałik‘, T‘ordan: in Upper Armenia; Hewsen, *Geography*, 151, and *idem*, *Atlas*, 45, Map 27, Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 498. T‘ordan was later the burial site of Gregory, see the *Buzadaran*, III 2. Barshamin: See *Agathangelos I*, xli, and Movsēs Xorenac‘i, II 14.

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17. *Ag*: + to hold in their hearts and.

18. All-protecting: *Ag, om.*

19. Altars: *Ag*, temples.

20. God: *Ag*, demons.

21. All-saving: *Ag*, life-bringing.

Greek Vg: 108. He arrived at the region of Daranali with the king, at the village of T'ordan. There existed [there] a temple of Rhea. Destroying this, they distributed the stores to the poor. They shattered the holy vessels and votive-offerings and idols, but preserved the gold and silver and precious stones for the purpose of founding the future holy churches, and so that the village of T'ordan would be well provided for the church of Christ.

Greek Vo: 117. Taking king Tiridates he arrived at another region of Armenia called Daranali, so that they might overthrow the temples of the idols in that place also. Coming to a village called T'ordan and finding a temple in it, that too they overturned. They smashed the idols, and the treasures of silver and gold found in it they likewise distributed to the poor. When they had similarly built a chapel and set up the honourable cross, at the king's command they attached all the surrounding area of the town to the chapel site,

Arabic Va: 96. Then from there they came to the province of Daranalik', accompanied by the kings, and arrived in a village called T'ordan. Now there was in that place a temple to Rhea.† That temple they destroyed; and he seized everything in it and began to distribute it to the needy. But he ordered the idols of gold and silver and the precious stones to be kept for the church which was to be built in the name of Christ. 97. And he fixed there a cross. Then they eagerly went to another village. Now the king with zeal and alacrity removed all the people from the worship of idols and brought them to Christ God through the teaching of Saint Gregory.

† Garitte's correction for *Zeus* in the text.

Syriac Vs [Aa §784-790]: 218. Then the people entered into a fervent faith and broke the molten [images] and the temple of idols. They divided their gold and silver among the poor; and they uprooted that temple of idols down to its foundations. In this fashion they went around all Armenia and obliterated [the temples].

§785. Then the blessed one straightway introduced his evangelical skill; he took over the province, and with the devoted assistance of the king brought all from their traditional customs and from the service of Satan and of demons to obedient servitude to Christ.

While he was sowing the word of life among them and instructing them all in true piety, there appeared to the inhabitants of the province tremendous miracles: taking various forms,[22] the demons fled to the regions of Xałtik‘.† After he had further confirmed these peoples, then he went to the fortified site called Ani,† the royal burial ground for the tombs of the Armenian kings. There they destroyed the altar of the god Zeus-Aramazd,† called father of all the gods.[23] And there they set up the Lord's sign, and the town with its fortress they devoted to the service of the church.

† Then the blessed one ... [Xałtik‘]. This is taken from Koriwn's description of Maštoc‘ in Gołt‘n; see the *Index of Parallels with Koriwn*. Xałtik‘ is on the north-western border of Armenia; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 501-502.

† Ani: not the more famous Ani on the Axurean river, but Ani Kamax on the upper Euphrates. See Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 442.

† Zeus-Aramazd: a unique combination, *Zews dic‘n Aramazd*. For the identification see above §53 etc. Since the Armenian text adds "father of the gods" [without attested variants], *Ag* renders by Chronos.

Greek Vg: 106. The king hastened to destroy as well the temple of Zeus, and to store away the gold and silver votive-offerings in the treasury. He ordered the villages designated [for the temple] to be held back until the churches had been [built], in order that the one appointed to serve might administer them in whatever way he might wish.

Greek Vg: 109. After setting up there the honourable Cross, they set out for other places. The king was very zealous to liberate all people from the error of idols and to bring them to Christ God through the teaching of Saint Gregory. 110. They then came to the fortress of Ani, in which castle were the tombs of those who had reigned earlier; for wherever the king of Armenia happened to die, he was brought there to the castle of Ani. In it was a temple of Zeus that had very many precious votive-offerings of the kings. There they acted similarly, and [after setting up] the Cross of Christ, they went on to another district.

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22. *Ag*: + visibly.

23. Of the god ... gods: *Ag*, of Chronos, the father of the supreme god Zeus.

Greek Vo: so that here too when the demons saw the power of the Lord demonstrated through his servant Gregory, they disappeared. Furthermore, the blessed Gregory with the king instructed all those in that village in the apostolic task, and brought them to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. After strengthening them therein, he left. 118. They reached a town or fortress called Ani, where from ancient times they were accustomed to bury their dead kings. The temple there of Chronos and Zeus they overthrew, and as was their custom they set up the Lord's sign in that place. He instructed everyone there, and after strengthening them in the true faith departed with the king.

Arabic Va: 98. They went to the city of the castle [afrujia].† There was in that place a fortress within which were the tombs of the former kings; there the king of Armenia was buried. There too a temple of Zeus was beside the kings, and it was as it were the primary temple of gold and silver and precious stones. With this they acted as before, and placed there the sign of Christ.

† I.e. at Ani.

§786. After this he went to the neighbouring province of Ekełeac'. Here the demons appeared in the places of worship of the most important shrines of the Armenian kings,[24] in the temple of Anahit[25] in the town of Erēz. The demons[26] gathered together and gave battle in the form of an army bearing shields;† with a tremendous shout they made the mountains echo. They were put to flight, and as they fled the high walls collapsed and were flattened. Those who had arrived, Gregory, the king and the pious army, broke into pieces the golden image of the female deity[27] Anahit,† and they completely destroyed and pillaged the place, seizing the gold and silver. From there they crossed over the river Gayl and destroyed the temple of Nanē,[28] the daughter of Aramazd,† in the town of T'il.† They plundered and collected the treasures of both temples and devoted

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24. Of the Armenian kings: *Ag*, of Armenia.

25. Temple of Anahit: *Ag*, altar of Artemis.

26. "The demons: *Ag*, they.

27. The female deity: *Ag*, *om.*

28. Temple of Nanē: *Ag*, altar of Athena.

them to the precious vessels[29] of the holy church of God with the lands.

† Demons give battle; cf. above §779.

† The temple of Anahit at Erēz was where Gregory had been ordered to sacrifice, leading to his tortures; see above, §48.

† Nanē: equated with Athena in *Ag* and *Vg*; see also Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 12 and 14.

† T'il: west of Ani Kamax; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 495. Here several early patriarchs were buried.

Greek Vg: 111. Then they reached the great temple of Artemis in the large village of Erez, where the kings were accustomed to celebrate the festival. Here Gregory had suffered the beginning of his martyrdom, and had endured imprisonment and the most terrible punishments. When the king with his large escort and the holy man had arrived, the demons appeared in the form of an army, thinking they would frighten them. But the holy one put them to flight through the sign of the Cross, and brought the people to even greater zeal to love the living God, especially as the walls of the temple collapsed of their own accord. 112. The king also crossed the Euphrates with all his subordinates and [came] to the village of T'il. There he destroyed the temple of Athena, and ordered the votive-offerings to be preserved in the same way, dedicating them for the church founded in the village of T'il.

Greek Vo: Then he came to the village of Erez in which was the temple of Artemis, where in the past the most holy Gregory had been ordered by the king to offer sacrifices to her. Since the demons who presided over that place could not bear the presence of saint Gregory, they began once more to create illusions and to show themselves as armed soldiers, and to shout out until the mountains echoed. When in the same fashion saint Gregory made the sign of the Cross in front of them, they immediately disappeared. Then the king ordered all his army to destroy the above-mentioned temple down to its foundations; and the abominable idol of Artemis which was worked in gold he threw down and broke up. After crossing the river that runs by Erez called the Lykos, they reached a village called Tisdan, where the temple of Athena was. The blessed one

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29. Precious vessels, *spask'*: *Ag*, service of the ecclesiastical vessels, *keimēlia*.

ordered this also to be destroyed from the foundations. After smashing the abomination in it, he instructed the people there, built a house of prayer, and set up there too the sign of the cross. Then he said to the believers: "In this place worship the Lord your God, and serve only him."

Arabic Va: Then they went to a different province, 99. where there was a temple of the great Artemis. Now after they came to the temple of Artemis in a large city whose name was Arzn, in which the kings used to assemble and celebrate a festival, and where Gregory had begun his martyrdom with bonds and various tortures, as the king and the blessed one and all the army went forward the demons appeared to them again all in hordes and began to terrify them. But saint Gregory expelled them by the sign of the cross. And when the troops saw that he had expelled the enemy by the sign of the cross, the hearts of men were opened to faith through love of the living God. Then the walls of that temple collapsed of their own accord, and the people saw it. Then the blessed one came to it with a cross. 100. After this the king and Gregory and all the army went off, crossed the Euphrates, and came to a city called T'il. Then he destroyed the temple of Athena, and ordered all its vessels to be kept in the city of T'il for the church that was to be built in it.

§787. In this way from many places they removed the silent, cast, hammered, beaten, sculpted,[30] useless, profitless and harmful scandals that were constructed by the witlessness of stupid men;† and they were sincerely converted and confirmed in the faith. The king[31] with strict authority gave a command to the people of those regions, who were possessed by Satan and the demons, to reject and free themselves from these useless, outworn and vain cults,[32] and to become obedient to the sweet yoke* of servitude to Christ.

* Mt. 11.30.

† Several passages in the *History* and the *Teaching* describe idolatry; see esp. §73 and 522.

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30. *Ag*: + idols.

31. They ... king: *Ag*, the king, strengthened in the faith.

32. Who ... cults: *Ag*, to abandon the satanic and demonic worship.

Greek Vg: 113. Traveling around everywhere in this fashion, they established the Christian faith. Everyone hastened to them,

Greek Vo: In this way he expelled the demons from the whole of that region. After removing every offence and smashing the idols, he entrusted to them the true faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. 119. King Tiridates, becoming ever warmer in the faith, bade all those under his rule to abandon the error of idols and to turn towards and submit to the faith and the yoke of our Saviour Jesus Christ. He preached everywhere, confessing his own impiety and the divine affliction that befell him because of it; he proclaimed the benevolence bestowed on him by the Lord, and how through saint Gregory he had gained healing.

Arabic Va: 101. They ordered similarly in every place where they went, and they strengthened the Christian faith and sowed in them the word of God. All the people hurried, some to see the king, others because of the wonders that saint Gregory performed. Through his word and prayer the temples were overturned and collapsed spontaneously with their walls; and he cured all diseases old and new.

§788. While they were so acting there with the support of everyone,[33] they fulfilled all things necessary for preaching the gospel.[34]† He did not at all rely on the awe or threat of the king in order to persuade everyone; nor merely by words, but also by signs and miracles and various kinds of healings the holy name of Christ was made glorious. All this was done by the will of benevolent God through Gregory. The king himself came to every place and acted as a preacher, confessing his own impieties and telling of the miracles done by God to him, and of the mercy of his healing. These things he revealed with a loud voice and clearly[35] in the presence of all.

† The king ... gospel: note the parallels in Koriwn, where the king of the Ałuank‘ assists Maštoc‘; see the *Index of Parallels with Koriwn*.

Greek Vg: partly for fear of the king, partly because of the miracles

33. With the support of everyone: *Ag, om.*

34. *Ag*: + with many signs.

35. Clearly: *Ag*, unashamedly.

effected by saint Gregory. By word and prayer he overturned the temples of idols, working healings among those who approached and had chronic diseases. 114. As for king Tiridates himself, he did not cease preaching and in each place proclaiming his former impiety and abominable and unholy cult. [He also described] the calamity that had befallen him and his magnates, and their healing through Gregory, who had been saved by God in his extreme punishments from the pit that was filled with venomous and very terrible beasts.
Greek Vo: He converted many multitudes in each [region], not through fear of the king but because of what had happened and the signs and wonders performed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ through his servant Gregory—especially the healing of the unbearable affliction that had befallen the king and all the army under him.

Arabic Va: 102. King Trdat did not cease preaching in every city, telling them that their former faith had been rejected and was pernicious. And he related to them the afflictions that had befallen himself and the patricians, and the grace that God had bestowed through saint Gregory, whom God had preserved from various torments and from that pit in which there were serpents.

§789. Then he hastened to the province of Derǰan† in order to spread there also the message of the apostolic preaching by works of labour,[36] and to free them from the beastliness of their abominable, demonic and satanic way of life.[37] He instructed those barbarous regions† in order to convert their gross and rough heathen habits to the sobriety of the divinely taught wisdom, and to inform them of the gospel's message and make them familiar with it.

† Derǰan: on the upper Euphrates; see Hewsen, *Geography*, 152 n. 9.

† Barbarous, *xužaduž*, regions: as Koriwn, 54, of the Mark‘; cf. Movsēs Xorenac‘i, III 54, *xžakan*, of the language of the Gargarac‘ik‘ in the Caucasus.

Greek Vg: 115. They arrived in the land of Derjan,

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36. By works of labour: *Ag, om.*

37. Abominable ... life: *Ag*, worship of demons and nightmarish activity.

Greek Vo: So leaving them strengthened in the faith of the Saviour, he arrived at another region called Derjan. There too he sowed the gospel of the Lord, and converting them from the worship of idols, he turned them to the true and secure faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Arabic Va: 103. Then they came to a province called Derjan, where there was a temple of Zeus. And he destroyed it through his holy teaching, and rapidly converted them to the knowledge of God.

§790. He came to the temple of Mihr,[38] called the son of Aramazd,† in the village called Bagayaṙič in the Parthian tongue.† This they destroyed down to its foundations; they plundered its accumulated treasures and devoted the lands to the church. The inhabitants of the land he confirmed in the knowledge of the truth. Then he took pains to instruct in the divine wisdom the accompanying courtiers with the great magnates and all the noble army.[39]†

† Mihr: i.e. Mithra, Hephaistos in *Ag*. See Russell, "Armenian Religion," 440-1. For the tradition of Mithra's birth on the bank of the Araxes river see Widengren, "The Mithraic Mysteries," 444-445.

† Bagayaṙič: in the province of Ekeleac'. Widengren, *ibid*, explains the name as *bāgayādiš*, "worship of the God," i.e. of Mithra the god *par excellence*.

† To instruct ... army: from Koriwn, 58, where Sahak and Maštoc' instruct the Armenian court.

Greek Vg: at a village called Bagariza. There he overthrew the temple of Dionysius, and through his spiritual teaching persuaded everyone to abandon the error of idols and to hasten to the true knowledge of God.

Greek Vo: Then they reached another village called in the Parthian tongue Bagayarinj, where there was a temple of Dionysius. This also they destroyed to its foundations, broke up the idol, and seizing the treasures in it they distributed them in similar fashion to the poor. Setting up there too the sign of the Cross, they brought those who inhabited that region to the right and true faith. When all this had been

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38. Mihr: *Ag*, Hephaistos.

39. All the noble army: *Ag*, the freemen.

thus accomplished with the help of the holy Spirit through God's servant Gregory, he came to the king's army in order to confirm them even more; after instructing them and rendering them steadfast in the faith, he departed.

§791. Then king Tiridates, with his wife, queen Ašxēn, and his sister Xosroviduxt, ordered a gathering to be summoned of all his army. Straightway from every region,[1] at his command they came to the rendezvous at the city of Vałaršapat in the province of Ayrarat; the king also journeyed there. The whole army came together, and the magnates and prefects, provincial governors, dignitaries and notables, generals, leaders and nobles, princes and freemen, judges and officers;[2] and they mustered before the king.†

† Note the rhetorical piling-up of synonyms, as in §24 and 761. On the other hand, the lists in §795 and 873 [but not 796] are more precise. For such lists of noble families see the notes to §795.

Greek Vg: 116. Then Tiridates set out for the land of Arayrat, in order that in concert with the queen and his sister and the other magnates they might plan for a priest to become their pastor and they might participate in holy baptism. Arriving with saint Gregory at the city of Vałaršapat in the region called Arayrat,

Greek Vo: 120. After they had completed total correction for the whole people, the king arrived at the city of Ararat called Vałaršapat, where his palace was, and he promulgated a decree that all the satraps, magnates, princes, leaders and generals under his authority should gather in his presence. When this had been done and they were standing before the king,

Arabic Va: 104. After this king Trdat went to the province of Ararat to consult his wife and sister and the rest of the princes, so that they might appoint a leader for themselves and proceed to baptism and become worthy of it. He came with Gregory to the city of Artašat in the province of Ararat.

§792. The king held council with them all, urging them to become heirs to good works: "Come, he said, let us hurry to appoint as our

1. From every region: *Ag, om.*

2. The whole ... officers: *Ag*, magnates and phylarchs, and distinguished generals and rulers of provinces, satraps and freemen.

pastor this Gregory,† this guide of our lives given us by God, so that he can illuminate us with baptism,† and as a teacher of the law[3]*† renew us by the sacrament[4] of God our Creator."†

* Acts 5.34.

† Pastor, *hoviw*, "shepherd," *poimēn* in *Ag*, a standard term for clergy and especially bishops; see Lampe, s.v.

† Note the emphasis on illumination by baptism; see esp. §794, 814, 817 below. The Greek term for illumination, *phōtismos*, is widely used for "baptism;" see Lampe, s.v. It is notable that in Georgian "baptism" is rendered by *nat'lis cemay*, "the giving of light," not a word based on "dipping," such as the Greek *baptismos*, or the Syriac *'md*. See further the Introduction, 82.

† Teacher of the law: *awrēnsusoyc'*, not a usual term in a Christian context. Koriwn, 56, uses it of Moses, while in Acts 5.34 it is applied to Gamaliel. Łazar, 45, uses it of the Magi, while the synonym *awrēnsdir* is later used of Muhammad. But it is applied to the Armenian Catholicos in the letter attributed to Photius sent to Zacharia.

† Sacrament: *xorhurd*, here the eucharist is intended, as understood in *Ag*. That baptism is the necessary preliminary to communion is stressed below, e.g. §826, and esp. 834.

Greek Vg: the king took counsel with them all, saying: 117. "Come then, let us turn to the one who led us on the path of life, showed us the luminary of truth, and removed us from dark and gloomy servitude. Let us press him to be promoted to he priesthood of Christ, so that we may obtain the baptism and holy communion of Christ. For we are ardent in our minds, having heard Gregory's teaching, but are troubled because we have not yet attained its completion."

Greek Vo: he began in the presence of saint Gregory to hold counsel with them and say: "Come, with one accord let us fall before and beg the servant of God and author of our salvation, Gregory, to become our shepherd, so that having renewed us through holy baptism he may let us participate fully in the holy mysteries of our Lord Jesus Christ."

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3. As a teacher of the law: *Ag, om.*
4. Sacrament, *xorhurd*: *Ag*, life-bringing mysteries.

Arabic Va: Then he took counsel with them all and said: 105. "Come now, let us accept the one who taught us the way of truth, and who taught us the true sun, and turned us away from the worship of darkness and abomination and led us out of it. Now let us ask Gregory to preside over the flock of Christ, so that it may become worthy of baptism and of approaching to receive the holy Eucharist, and that our minds be aroused by the teaching of the blessed one. For we do not merit the perfect gift, and therefore we are disturbed."

Syriac Vs: 219. Then the kings and nobles and judges gathered together and said: "We ask that he create for us a pastor, so that he may baptise us and bring us close to God and teach us the path of life." And they all demanded from saint Gregory that he accept this.

§793. Gregory, however, would not agree to accept the honour of the high-priesthood, saying: "I am unable to consent and undertake this because of its immeasurable height.[5] For this glorious honour given by Christ of leadership and being intermediary between God and men is ineffable.* But let them seek out and find one who is worthy.

* I Tim. 2.5.

Greek Vg: 118. But saint Gregory said to them: "I am not worthy to receive such a heavy responsibility, and to be appointed intermediary between the living God and mankind." 119. They said to him: "You who have worked such great and so many signs, and have confirmed us in the true faith through your divine teaching and wise and very sweet words, how are you unable to become intermediary between God and mankind? For we have had experience that whatever you may ask from the living God is accomplished." 120. While he was still refusing, in the evening after the royal dinner everyone departed for his lodging.

Greek Vo: But the most holy Gregory refused the magnitude of the rank, saying: "I am not worthy to receive such an honour and service as the episcopate,† because the honour that comes to the bishop from the Lord is indescribable; for the bishop is mediator between God and man."

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5. *Ag*: + of the Godhead.

† Episcopate: *archierōsynē*, "high-priesthood;" bishop: "high-priest." But *episkopos* for Leontius and his colleagues below.

Arabic Va: 106. But saint Gregory said to the king and the rest of the princes: "I do not merit this responsibility. Nor is it appropriate for me to be a mediator between the living God and men." 107. However, they said to him: "You are the one who performed these great wonders, and who confirmed us in the true faith through your teaching and wisdom and pleasing speech. How then are you not worthy to be a mediator between God and men? We have experience that whatever you ask from your living God is granted." 108. While he was thinking this over, evening overtook them and the hour of the king's dinner, and the people departed to their homes.

Syriac Vs: 220. But he declined, saying: "I am not worthy to become a mediator between God and mankind, but look to another for yourselves." 221. But they said: "You were a guide for us, and you were sent by God to teach us the path of life, and you were entrusted to be for us a leader and pastor. Who is there worthy of this like you?" But he did not agree with them.

§794. However, there then appeared a wonderful vision from God to the king. He saw the angel of God speaking to him, and saying: "You must without delay have Gregory ordained to the high-priesthood, so that he may illuminate you by baptism."[6] Similarly the vision of God's[7] angel appeared also to Gregory to prevent him from daring to persist in this matter. "For this," he said, "has been commanded you by Christ." Then he was convinced and straightway said: "May God's will be accomplished."*

* Acts 21.14.

Greek Vg: And behold an angel like a flash of lightning appeared to the king, saying as follows: "You have trodden a good and straight road, Tiridates; so now hasten to [carry out] what is required. For he who established you, the same will fulfill in you the mystery of the Trinity. So

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6. By baptism: *Ag, om.*

7. The vision of God's: *Ag*, the same.

with all speed ordain Gregory to the high-priesthood by sending him to Caesarea, where he learned the word of truth and all instruction [paideia]. And I shall appear to Gregory to prevent him refusing your behest." 121. The king, greatly awed, commanded everyone to assemble. Similarly Gregory saw the same angel saying: "Do not have the effrontery, Gregory, to oppose Tiridates when he is urging you to become pastor to the people saved through you and your endurance."

Greek Vo: 121. After the blessed one had said this, the king had a divine vision at night, and he saw an angel of the Lord standing beside him and saying: "Press on with the episcopate for Gregory, so that your souls may be illuminated." The same vision appeared also to the holy Gregory, the angel standing beside him and saying to him: "Do not refuse to accept the honour of the episcopacy, for it has been given to you." The blessed Gregory replied to the angel: "May the Lord's will be done."

Arabic Va: Now that night an angel of God appeared to the king, like a streak of lightning, and said to him: "Trdat, you have now come to the chosen and right path. Hurry therefore to carry out what you planned, because he who established you, he it is who will carry through the mystery of the Trinity in you. Now rapidly appoint Gregory your leader. Take him to the city of Caesarea, where he acquired the word of truth and all learning; there the priesthood will be given to him. And behold, I shall appear to him also to prevent him opposing you." 109. The king spent that night in prayer and supplication; and in the morning all the people gathered. Now that same night the angel of the Lord appeared to Gregory and said to him: "Gregory, do not dare to oppose Trdat, since he has asked you to pasture the people which through you inherited salvation." 110. Now when it was morning, they all gathered in the presence of the king, and he sent to seek out Gregory. Then the king related to the people the vision that he had seen and that: "I was rendered worthy to see an angel." Joy and awe fell on him. And he said to them: "The angel said to me: 'I shall command Gregory not to oppose you'." And he urged the people to come together in order to carry out what he had planned. Gregory also stirred them by his own vision, and confirmed the king's word and said to them: "As God and your desire commanded I shall do."

Syriac Vs: 222. Then there appeared to king Trdat in a vision that they should not appoint anyone else save Gregory. Also to saint Gregory an angel appeared and said to him: "Agree to this, because they are your flock and through your hands they turned to God, so that your lot might be with that of the prophets and apostles and martyrs." Then he said: "May the will of God be done." And he submitted to them in this matter.

§795. Then the king immediately, in haste and fear and great joy, took thought and gathered the leading princes and governors of the lands. The first was the prince of the house of Angł; the second, the prince of Ałjnik', who was the great *bdeašx*;[8] the third, the prince of the princedom of *Mardpet-dom*;[9] the fourth, the prince of the crowning-rank, the *aspet*; the fifth, the prince *sparapet*, the general of the land of Armenia; the sixth, the prince of the land of Korduk', the seventh, the prince of the land of Cop'k'; the eighth, the prince of the land of Gugark', called the *other bdeašx*; the ninth, the prince of the land of the Ṙštunik', the tenth, the prince of the land of Mokk'; the eleventh, the prince of the land of Siwnik'; the twelfth, the prince of the land of Cawdēk'; the thirteenth, the prince of the land of Uti; the fourteenth, the prince prefect of the province of Zarawand and Her; the fifteenth, the prince of the house of the *Malxaz-dom*; the sixteenth, the prince of the Arcrunik'.†

† This list and the shorter one in §873 are discussed in detail in Toumanoff, *Studies*, 159ff; see also Adontz/Garsoïan, *Armenia*, 231: "The princes listed here reflect the situation present at the end of the sixth century, and [it] coincides with the divisions which had existed in Armenia before the composition of the *Armenian Geography*." See *ibid*, Appendix III, 72*-75*, for the text in Armenian, Greek and Arabic [in Latin translation]. Cf. also Chaumont, "L'ordre des préséances." The geographical regions are discussed in Hewsen, *Geography*, and the Appendix "Toponomy," in Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*. For the titles *bdeašx*, "lord of a border region," of which there were four, and *aspet*, "commander of the cavalry," see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 156-159 and 325-326, and Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 516-517 and 509. The "prince of the crowning-rank, *išxan t'agakap išxanut'ean*," refers to the right of crowning the king exercised by the Bagratuni noble family, which also held the rank of *aspet*; see Garsoïan,

8. *Bdeašx*: *Ag*, *ho tēs komitatēsias*.

9. *Mardpet-dom*: *Ag*, *ho epi tes exousias patrikios*.

Epic Histories, 563. The precise function exercised by the *malxaz*, an office hereditary in the Xorxoṙuni house, is not known; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 542.

Greek Vg: 98. The three kings—of the Laz, and of the Iberians, and of the Albanians—assembled at the edicts. And with the kings were as first in rank the toparch of Ingilene and Antistene; the second, the great pitiax of Arzianene; the third, the toparch of the Merdoi; the fourth, the prince, eparch of the Ospitianoi, who was appointed to guard the regions of the Caucasian mountains and of the Tzan; the fifth, the general of the Mamikonean, asparapet, who had all the cavalry and infantry of Armenia under his command, and who always accompanied the king of Greater Armenia, and in the line of battle [commanded] all the vanguard and those subject to his own military command; sixth, the toparch of the so-called land of Korduene, which is near to that of the Andriokodritoi; seventh, the commander of Greater Sophanene close to Mesopotamia; eighth, the general of the land of Gugark', who held in person the rank of pitiax; ninth, the toparch of Rustunik'; tenth, the satrap of Mokk'; eleventh, the phylarch of Sunik'; twelfth, the general of Tsawdek'; thirteenth [...; fourteenth] the satrap of the land of Zarevand and Xeir and of those near Korduk'; fifteenth, the prince of Xorxorunik', as general having control of the so-called Malxaz; sixteenth, the governor of Artsrunik'. And the rest of the clans were assembled according to rank. 99. These sixteen magnates enumerated above, who were called the most significant because of their dignities, were ordered to be prepared for the journey.

Greek Vg: 122. Early in the morning they all assembled in the king's presence; saint Gregory too was summoned. When the king related to them all the awesome vision, and that he had been rendered worthy of the apparition of an angel, they were struck by joy and fear. The king also said that the angel had told Gregory as well to make the journey and not refuse our proposal. So he hastened to carry into effect in all respects what was desired. Saint Gregory, expounding his own vision, reinforced the vision announced by the king, saying: "As seemed good to the Lord and to you, so may it be."

Greek Vo: Then the king a second time, with his magnates and satraps requested the blessed Gregory to accept the episcopacy; and he uttered

the same phrase: "May the Lord's will be done." The king, filled with joy, thanked the Lord. He ordered the foremost of the satraps and princes to gather and go with saint Gregory to the land of Cappadocia to the city of Caesarea, so that after being ordained bishop he might return rapidly to the land of the Armenians.

Arabic Va: For the list in *Va* see above, following *Aa* §776.

Syriac Vs: 223. Then king Trdat gathered his nobles—that is, the princes of Armenia, sixteen great princes, the lords of thousands and myriads of the people of Torgom, son of Gomer, son of Japheth, son of Noah—except for the great patricians.

§796. These were the chosen princes, the prefects, governors, generals and marshals† in the land of Armenia, the house of T'orgom,† whom king Trdat gathered together and sent to the region of Cappadocia, to the city of Caesarea, called in the Armenian tongue Mažak',† in order to bring Gregory to be ordained high-priest for their country.† And [the king] commanded a letter[10]† to be written as follows:

† Generals and marshals: *hazarawork', biwrawork'*, lit. "[heads of] thousands, ten thousands," not formal titles.

† T'orgom: see above, §16.

† Caesarea, *Mažak'*: the modern Kayseri. The ancient city of Mazaca was renamed Caesarea after the emperor Augustus; see Hewsen, *Atlas*, 50, for a discussion of the province of Cappadocia, and Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 455-456, for Caesarea. Movsēs Xorenac'i, I 14, offers a fanciful etymology from a supposed hero called Mšak.

† High-priest: see note to §761 for this title applied to the chief bishop.

† Letter: *hrovartak*; see above, §125, "edict." Here it is rendered by *grammata* in *Ag*, but *epistolē* in the following title.

Greek Vg: 123. The magnates prepared to travel to the city of Caesarea with saint Gregory.

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10. Letter: *Ag*, *grammata*, but *epistolē* for the following title.

Syriac Vs: 224. These king Trdat sent to Italy with saint Gregory. And with them he wrote a letter to Leontius, patriarch of Rome, as follows: "Trdat, head of Armenia, king, to Leontius, patriarch of Rome, greetings." And after the greeting, as follows:

Copy of the Letter

§797. "From earliest times we were lost, enveloped in the ignorance of sin, wrapped in mist and fog,* rendered stupid,[11]* unable to see, understand or discern the sun of righteousness;* therefore we were blinded and immersed in darkness.* But when the sweetness and benevolence of God our creator appeared* to admonish and illuminate us his creatures, he shot the rays of his living light* into our hearts, and vivified our mortality by sending his holy and beloved martyrs to these regions.

* Ez. 34.12. * Mk. 8.17. * Mal. 4.2. * Is. 59.9. * Tit. 3.4. * Wis. 7.26.

Greek Vg: The version of the letter in *Vg* is placed at the end of this chapter.

Arabic Va: The version of the letter in *Va* is placed at the end of this chapter.

Syriac Vs: The version of the letter in *Vs* is placed at the end of this chapter.

§798. "They came and revealed to our foolishness the demonstration of their fortitude, bravery and virtue.[12] Although the Lord already knew how great was their fortitude, but in order to teach us foolish ones wisdom—with how great a love they loved their Lord—therefore through their virtuous struggle the Lord God wrought such amazing miracles and inflicted such severe punishments on us, that our king even became a boar and pastured with the wild beasts. But then he had mercy on us at the intercession

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11. Wrapped ... stupid: *Ag*, darkened in error and enclosed in the fog of godlessness.

12. *Ag*: + for the love of Christ.

of these martyrs' prayers, and through the martyred Gregory healed us all.

§799. "Because he was even more a martyr and an even greater champion,[13]† therefore he has been given to us by God as a leader.† Through him [God] has destroyed and abolished our former vain habits of worshipping ancestral idols, and has taught all of us his testimonies and commandments for us to follow his will. He has even given us a clear command to appoint this same Gregory as our shepherd and overseer† and truthful teacher.[14]

† Martyr, champion: *vkay, nahatakeal.* "Martyr" could be applied to those who survived torture [usually "confessors, as of Gregory in §801], as well as those killed; see Lampe, s.v. *martys.* In §807 Gregory is called both martyr and confessor. *Nahatak* is common for heroes for the faith, rendering the Greek *athlētēs*, "one who contends, or fights in the arena;" see Lampe, s.v.

† Leader: *aṙaǰnord*, in *Ag hodēgos*, often used for a prelate.

† Overseer: *tesuč'*, a bishop, rendering [*epi*]-*skopos*. In §856 *tesuč'* and *episkopos* are equated, while in §762 *tesuč'* is used as an adjective.

§800. "Therefore, trusting in the support of your acceptable and holy prayers, O Leontius, Archbishop of Caesarea,† and all the priestly clergy of your holy church who are there, by God's mercy and through your prayers we send you greetings—I, king Tiridates† with all the army of Greater Armenia, and queen Ašxēn and princess Xosroviduxt. Therefore we have sent to you eminent men, the honourable nobles of our great country, to inform you of all God's miracles which have been done amongst us in this land.

† Leontius [d. 337]: He attended the council of Nicaea. As with titles for Gregory as bishop, Agathangelos is not consistent with regard to Leontius: here "archbishop, *ark'episkopos*," but "catholicos *kat'ołikos*," in §804, and "metropolitan, *metropolit*," in §820. Before 500 the title of "archishop" was usually reserved for the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Rome, and Jerusalem; the use of "catholicos" began as a secular title, and was then applied to archbishops; "metropolitan" was used

13. And ... champion: *Ag, om.*

14. Overseer and truthful teacher: *Ag*, bishop of truth.

at an earlier date, for the bishop of a city with the status of "metropolis." See Lampe for these titles, and cf. Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 537, for episcopal titles in Armenia. See further §14, 761. In §862 Gregory's son Aristakēs, when appointed to succeed his father, "sat on the throne of the Catholicosate, *at'oṙ kat'olikosut'ean*, of Greater Armenia."

† Tiridates: *Trdatios*, Greek form for a Greek context. Cf. above at §37 and especially §134.

§801. "And we have had sent to you the holy confessor[15] of Christ,† Gregory. And we have written this edict† to you, that you may ordain for us Gregory as overseer and teacher and leader in God's paths, and shepherd and doctor, according to the providential tradition of the spiritual and divine grace of Christ, just as has been commanded us by God. So pray that God may make us worthy of his mercy, and that we may walk righteously in his paths, and that your love and greeting may rest upon us." In such terms was the copy of the letter written.

† Confessor: *xostovanol*, *homologētēs* in *Ag*, as in §807 and 876; a general title for those who suffered under persecution.

† Edict: *hrovartak*, as in §796, but here *prosēgoria* in *Ag*, which is "salutation, greeting" [*epistolē* at the end of the paragraph].

§802. They made their preparations and took with them gifts—gold and silver, horses and mules, and garments of various colours for the decoration and service of the honourable places of the holy houses[16] of God where they were being sent. And for all the churches by which they would pass they took prepared gifts.

Greek Vg: The king provided many gifts for them and expenses, so that they might hand the gifts to the patriarch and the others who served the holy church, as well as more for the appointed governors, and expenses for the road and in the city of Caesarea. Similarly, the magnates had much money and many presents with them.

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15. *Ag*: + and living martyr.

16. Honourable ... houses: *Ag*, most holy temples, *naoi*.

Arabic Va: 111. Then all the princes prepared to go with Gregory to the city of Caesarea, which in Armenian is translated as Mazaca. King Trdat sent with him many gifts and supplies for their journey, gifts to be presented to the patriarch and the ministers of the church and the prefects of the province, and expenses and supplies for them to have for Caesarea and the departure. The princes also took with them from their own provision many gifts to do favours to people.

§803. They put Gregory in the royal carriage that was decorated in gold and drawn by white mules.† All the nobles gathered around him with carriages and horses, with their forces, standards and[17] each one's following. They departed from the province of Ayrarat and the city of Vałaršapat, and arrived in Greek territory. In every city they were received with great honour and elaborate hospitality.[18] [The Greeks] made much rejoicing and merriment and joyful feasting* when they heard of the miracles worked by God, and of their visitors' conversion to salvation and their journey for support.

* III Macc. 6.22.

† Carriage ... mules: cf. the golden carriage and white mules summoned to carry the deceased patriarch Sahak by the Persian general Ahmat as described in Pseudo-Šapuh, 93; Łewond, §9, merely refers to Sahak's companions burying him with glory.

Greek Vg: 124. Putting saint Gregory in the royal carriage decorated with gold and precious stones, the magnates named above set out for the city of Caesarea with the holy one. Artavazd, prince of the Mamikonean and asparapet of all Armenia, was in charge. He arranged for some [people] to go ahead and prepare provisions in various sites and places; for thirty thousand mounted men followed the magnates, not including the numerous men on foot who paid attendance on them. 125. All the villages hastened to meet them—men, women, and children with candles —when they heard that Gregory the martyr of Christ was on his way to Caesarea in order to become pastor of the people and clans of Armenia, who had been converted to the knowledge of God. Likewise the priests

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17. Their forces, standards and: *Ag, om.*

18. And elaborate hospitality: *Ag, om.*

eagerly pressed towards the holy one, thanking and praising God. 126. The bishop of Sebaste with his holy clergy begged the saint to stop for many days in their city. Promising to do so on their return, they stayed for only two days before setting out for the city of Caesarea. 127. Their fame preceded those enjoined to pay out the costs of the expenses, and the populace of the villages and fields came out to meet them. They were amazed on hearing what had happened, and thanked God for saving them from their impious cult.

Arabic Va: 112. They made Gregory mount the royal chariot adorned with gold and precious stones, and despatched the princes with the holy one to Caesarea. The leadership of the whole force was entrusted to Artavazd, prince of the Mamikonean and asparapet, under whose authority was all Armenia; both of them† were the king's agents for the leadership of all the armed forces. They also sent men ahead to prepare their stopping places and necessities, whether town or village. Now their number was three thousand cavalry, not including infantry and servants and attendants. With them they also had a letter from king Trdat to Leontius the archbishop. 113. When all the towns and villages heard that Gregory, the martyr of Christ, was departing for the city of Caesarea to be put in charge of the people and inhabitants of Armenia whom he had turned to the knowledge of God, with candles and torches men, women and children came out to meet Gregory and the princes accompanying him. Likewise the priests joyfully went out to greet the holy one and to be blessed by him. They glorified God at the conversion of that people to the Christian religion through saint Gregory. 114. The bishop of Sebaste with all his clergy asked the holy one to stay with them for a few days. The blessed one responded to them and said: "When we return we shall do that; but not today." Only two days did he stay with them, and during those two days they were very well received. Then they set out for Caesarea. 115. Their repute preceded them everywhere in advance of the arrival of the attendants who were to prepare their needs. All the inhabitants of towns and villages came out to meet them; they wondered at them, glorified God, and praised him who had saved them from the worship of idols.

† The two titles have been misinterpreted.

Syriac Vs: 238. They brought the carriage, to which were yoked four mules; set on top was a chair of gold, and placed within it were splendid

royal fittings. They made Gregory ride on this, and the sixteen princes whom we mentioned above went with him.

§804. They were honoured in this way on their journey until they reached the city of Caesarea. There they saw the holy Catholicos† Leontius and all the company of the church, the holy clerics and the groups of angelic ministers.[19] Greeting them, they informed them of what had been done by God, and they presented the king's letter to the holy high-priest.[20] He received it with great happiness and to the joy of all the citizens. They all celebrated a joyful festival, and honoured saint Gregory for his meritorious virtues and endurance in his martyr-like struggle, giving thanks with candles and[21] psalms and spiritual songs.* The nobles of the city also showed great honour to the visitors and received them with solicitude according to the Christian custom.† In this way he was much honoured by everyone according to the merit of the blessed name of martyr that he had gained.

* Col. 3.16.

† Catholicos, high-priest: for such titles see above §761 and 800.

† The nobles ... custom: as Koriwn, 46, where Maštoc‘ visits Edessa and Amida.

Greek Vg: 128. When they arrived near to Caesarea, they sent off messengers to the archbishop Leontius and the governor of the same city to ask where they should stay, sending also much money for their needs. 129. When the holy patriarch learned [of their arrival], with the general and the other citizens they carried out everything for their care in the greatest joy. They determined that each of the magnates should stay in the greatest houses, while he invited saint Gregory [to lodge] in the holy episcopal palace. 130. All the citizens great and small, with women and children, in the company of the general met and greeted the holy one four [mile]-stones outside the city as he descended from the royal carriage. Doing this with much joy and splendour, they entered the city.

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19. Ministers: *Ag*: + in asceticism and liturgy.

20. High-priest: *Ag*, bishop.

21. Candles and: *Ag*, *om*.

131. When they all arrived close to the church, archbishop Leontius with all the priests met saint Gregory and embraced him and all the sixteen magnates. With the citizens and the magnates he entered and prayed in the episcopal palace [...]. When he had learned everything from them and had instructed them in the path of knowledge of God, he invited the magnates with Gregory the martyr to dinner. The others he dispatched each to his allotted house. 132. There was great joy in the whole city, and illuminations for the entrance of the holy one and of so many people that had been saved. All his friends and those related to his wife, and also his tutors, were perpetually visiting the saint with great joy.

Greek Vg: 143. The holy Leontius rejoiced greatly with all the inhabitants of Caesarea, and urged the city to provide care and hospitality for the martyr Gregory and the magnates, who offered gold and silver vessels as gifts to the most holy churches. These each of the magnates had brought from home; and they offered most precious gifts of their own homeland, not only to the holy churches but also to the leaders of the city. 144. The citizens of Caesarea evinced great joy on welcoming such a martyr and so many and such eminent persons, who had been united to the holy church of God, had turned to the living God, and had rejected error and destruction; and because so many peoples had been saved through the endurance and teaching of the holy Gregory.

Greek Vo: 122. When they arrived in the city of Caesarea, they met the most pious archbishop Leontius and all the clergy of the most holy church. They related to them everything that had happened; and about the affliction that had befallen all the people of the Armenians and king Tiridates, and how the Lord had granted them healing. On hearing these things they were filled with exceeding joy.

Arabic Va: 116. Now when they approached the city of Caesarea, they sent to the holy Leontius to inform him and the leaders of the city, so they could instruct them in what place it would be suitable for them to lodge. And they sent much gold to the patriarch Leontius and the prince of the city. 117. When the holy father the patriarch learned this, he sent to ask the prince of the city, and he prepared places for them in which it would be convenient for them to lodge. He accommodated the nobles in distinguished houses, but saint Gregory he ordered to lodge with him in the episcopal palace. 118. Then all the inhabitants of the city, men,

women and children, with the prince of the city came to meet him four miles outside the city, and they greeted the holy one. And when he saw them, he descended from the royal carriage, and with great joy and delight got down to walk with them until they entered the city. 119. When they reached the church, the archbishop met them with all his clergy and priests and ministers of the holy church of God, and he greeted the blessed Gregory and the sixteen princes. They entered the church together and prayed. He told them to lodge in the episcopal palace; and he learned all their news, and began to teach them the path of knowledge of God. After that he ordered Gregory and the sixteen nobles with him to take refreshment with him; but each of the rest he sent to the house where he lodged, and took care of their requirements. 120. Then the whole city was filled with joy and happiness, and candles were lit for that holy one who had come to them, and for the people who through him had been saved.

Arabic Va: 131. Then the blessed Leontius and all the inhabitants of Caesarea were filled with joy, and he ordered what was necessary to be provided for saint Gregory and the princes with him, who had brought pious gifts for the church of gold and silver vessels.

Syriac Vs: 239. They travelled by dry land and by sea until they reached the land of Italy. They entered the city of Rome and gave the letter to the patriarch Leontius.

§805. There took place a council† of many[22] bishops in the city of Caesarea so that they might ordain saint Gregory; and they handed on to him the honour of the humility of Christ's priesthood, and the highness of the episcopacy of God's glory—great honour and glory.[23] The assembled bishops, of whom the chief was Leontius, placed their hands on him with the holy gospel[24] so that he might receive authority in heaven and on earth to receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and to bind and loose on earth.[25]*†

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22. Many: *Ag, om.*

23. Great honour and glory: *Ag, om.*

24. With the holy gospel: *Ag*, holding the holy gospel on his head.

25. On earth: *Ag*, according to the saying of the gospel.

* Mt. 16.19.

† Council. See the Introduction, 20-21, for discussion of this episode, the number of bishops, and the corresponding accounts in the other versions.

† For this description of the ritual of consecration see the discussion in Garitte, *Agathange*, 132-134. It is noteworthy that *Va* refers to Gregory being ordained priest before the episcopal consecration—an indication that direct progression from lay to episcopal status was not considered appropriate; cf. above, note to §782.

Greek Vg: 133. The archbishop Leontius sent some [messengers] to the bishops and metropolitans under him, as far as Chalcedon of Bithynia. When the bishops and metropolitans had assembled, twenty in number, he gave them the letter of king Tiridates, which ran as follows.

Greek Vg: 145. The very holy bishops assembled with the most holy patriarch Leontius, and entering the holy church they led the saint to the chancel. Opening the holy gospels, they laid them on the [head of the] martyr and confessor Gregory. They all laid their holy hands on him, praying the accustomed prayer over him and putting around him the maphorion, saying: "Worthy, worthy, worthy." They celebrated the liturgy, and the holy gospel was read: "I am the good shepherd," and what follows. Then in accordance with the canon they all embraced the martyr.*

* Jn. 10.11, 14.

Greek Vo: 123. At the command of the most holy bishop Leontius a large number of bishops gathered for the ordination of the holy Gregory. Laying their hands and the holy gospel on him, with the customary prayer they carried out the ordination over him.

Arabic Va: 121. The archbishop Leontius sent [word] to the bishops and metropolitans who were under his authority that they should gather in his presence. When all had gathered, he handed them the letter of king Trdat. And it was [written] in the letter as follows:

See the end of the chapter for the text of the Letter in *Va*.

Arabic Va: 131. They ordained Gregory priest, as the king had requested, over the country of Armenia. After they had done that, the sixteen princes joyfully took everything they had brought from home, and

distributed them not only to the churches but also to the leaders of the city and the rest of the people, swift horses and splendid garments and precious stones and similar things. 132. The inhabitants of Caesarea were filled with joy and happiness in that they had received the holy martyr and the leading nobles and princes of the provinces, for their fellowship and the comradeship of them all in the holy church of God, and the holy baptism and their turning to God, and their deliverance from that vain and pernicious impiety, of such a people through the endurance and teaching of the blessed one, that is Gregory, who had been brought up in their city, where he had been educated and had studied. 133. Then the bishops assembled with the holy patriarch Leontius, entered the holy catholic church, and brought the blessed one to the altar. They opened the holy gospels and spread them over the martyr [and] confessor Gregory. Then the blessed Leontius and all the bishops placed their hands on him, recited over him the prayer that is required for all who wish to embark upon leadership, and clothed him with the sticharium. Everybody shouted: "Worthy, worthy, worthy," and they celebrated the liturgy. At the place where they opened the gospels, they gave [the book] to the deacon who was to read the gospel that day; it was [written] in that place which he had to read: "I am the good shepherd who give my life for my flock," and what follows. After the end of the liturgy all the people greeted Gregory, the holy metropolitan of Greater Armenia.*

* Jn. 10. 11, 14.

Syriac Vs: He greatly rejoiced at them and gathered his bishops and clergy, and they consecrated saint Gregory Catholicos for the Armenians.

§806. With great honour and a letter saint Gregory was sent off with the nobles[26] by the gathering [of bishops].† They exchanged greetings,[27] and in the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ they went on their way. They arrived in the city of Sebaste,† and there they lodged not a few days. He found there a large number of brethren whom he

26. With the nobles: *Ag, om.*

27. They exchanged greetings: *Ag, om.*

persuaded to accompany him so that he[28] might ordain them to the priesthood in his own country; and he took with him many groups. He was greatly honoured by the bishops of the land and the nobles and the people.†

† By the gathering [of bishops]: The Armenian text here is uncertain and offers many variants to the printed *žołov*, "gathering, synod, crowd." *Ag* understood this to refer to the gathering of bishops at the council: "Gregory was sent off by the crowd of bishops with great honour and letters." This probably reflects the original sense and should not be translated "with an escort" [as in *Agathangelos I*].

† Sebaste: modern Sivas. When the Roman province of Lesser Armenia was separated from Cappadocia in the reign of Diocletian, it became the metropolitan capital of that new province; Adontz/Garsoïan, *Armenia*, 278. Hewsen, *Atlas*, 73 [Map 62]. This explains the role of Peter in enthroning Gregory at Aštišat, as described in the Greek *V* recension.

† He was honoured ... people: as Koriwn, 48, where Maštoc' is welcomed at Samosata.

Greek Vg: 146. After offering him and the magnates hospitality for many days, with lamps and candles and doxologies they escorted them out of the city—all the bishops and princes and leading citizens of Caesarea, and the rest of the people, men, women and children. 147. The holy archbishop Leontius gave him relics of the holy Precursor and Baptist, John, just as saint Gregory had requested. After giving him a reply [to the king's letter], he embraced him with the other bishops. Putting him in the royal carriage, they bade him farewell. They themselves returned to the city, amazed at events and rejoicing at the people who had been united with the catholic church.

Greek Vg: 152. They set off with joy, and on arriving at the province of Sebaste in a place called Triodia, they pitched their tents there and rested, not wishing to trouble those in a village or the countryside. But all the people of Sebaste came out to meet them with their pious bishop Peter and the governor; and with much splendour they escorted them into the city. 153. After staying for six days at the appeal of the citizens, they set out for home. Saint Gregory took with him priests and monks in

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28. He: *Ag*, the most holy archbishop.

order to appoint them in the church of Armenia. He also had a synodical letter for the pious bishop Peter from the patriarch Leontius, that he should enthrone him in accordance with the holy canons.

Greek Vo: With psalms the most holy Leontius and all the clergy, the nobles, the princes, and whole city escorted him off back to the land of the Armenians.

Arabic Va: 134. They kept him and all those in his company with them for some days. Then all the bishops, leaders and princes of Caesarea, and the rest of the people, men, women and children, escorted him outside the city with candles and incense and prayer. 135. The holy archbishop Leontius gave them [some] of the bones of Mar John the holy Baptist, as the blessed Gregory had requested of him, and wrote a reply to the king's letter. He bade him farewell, and likewise he [Gregory] bade farewell to the other bishops. They set him in the royal carriage with the holy bones that were in his possession, and returned to their city of Caesarea, amazed at what they had seen from the people with the holy one, and rejoicing that he had converted them to the catholic church.

Arabic Va: 140. Then they departed with joy and came to the city of Sebaste. In the place called Three Ways† they lodged, and there pitched their tents. They caused no loss to anyone, neither in a city nor a village, but for their lodging they dealt with people with their own travel supplies. All the inhabitants of Sebaste with their bishop the holy Peter were pleased, and the governor too rejoiced and with great pleasure entertained them in the city of Sebaste for six days.

† Three Ways: *Muṯallaṯ*, lit. "triangle."

Syriac Vs: 240. They stayed there for five days in great joy. The patriarch wrote a response to the letter which contained exhortation and encouragement. He blessed those sixteen princes, prayed over them and instructed them in many matters. Leontius and Gregory were blessed by each other. Then they set out to return to their country.

§807. Now wherever they passed, crowds upon crowds assembled to see the holy bishop[29] Gregory in order to be blessed by him. They said to each other: "Come, let us see the holy bishop Gregory; for he is that man," they said, "who for Christ's sake[30] endured torments. Being found a faithful witness,† he has inherited the title of confessor."[31]

† Witness, *vkay*, or "martyr." For Gregory as martyr and confessor see above, §799 and 801.

§808. Then he took with him the great number of those whom he had persuaded [to accompany him] with the princes and soldiers. So taking leave with liberal gifts and trusting in the grace of God, with his escort he took to the road.[32] And thus, after passing the many stages in health, success and spiritual joy, they arrived in Armenia.[33]†

† Then ... Armenia: as Koriwn, 50, describing Maštoc' return to Armenia from Samosata.

Arabic Va: 141. After that he sent them off, and they continued their journey to their own country. Saint Gregory took with him from Sebaste not a few presbyters and monks to make them priests for the churches of Armenia. And he had a letter from the patriarch Leontius to Peter the bishop of Sebaste, that he should go with him in order to install him on the throne, as the canons of the church demand. 142. When they reached Greater Armenia, people came out to meet them from all directions. And he found that they had already built churches in every town where he had fixed crosses to await his return. So when Gregory arrived, he built altars in them, and the bishop Mar Peter consecrated him according to canon-law [sunna]. They established priests in the province of Tarawn, and departed from there.

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29. Bishop: *Ag*, archbishop.

30. For Christ's sake: *Ag*, for the sake of the all-holy name of Christ.

31. *Ag*: + and martyr.

32. So ... road: *Ag*, trusting in the grace of Christ.

33. Armenia: *Ag*, his own country.

Syriac Vs: 241. When they reached Sebaste of Cappadocia, they stayed there for ten days. Gregory took with him from there priests and deacons and teachers.

Supplement. Text of the Letter, *Aa* §797-801, in *Vg*, *Va* and *Vs*:

Greek Vg: 134. "King Tiridates of Greater Armenia, with my wife queen Ašxen and Xosroviduxt his [sic!] sister, and all Armenia to our lord and chief-pastor, archbishop of Cappadocia, and to all the holy clergy and the most eminent princes and all Christians: with great love and humility I greet you. Most blessed ones, I must relate to you, who have provided healing through the living God to the sick, and rehearse and expound the benevolent chastisement of God that visited us. 135. Since long ago we were encompassed by the effusion of a dark and gloomy cloud, unable to recognise the living God or behold the sun of righteousness; but we were constrained in the error of idols from the tradition of our fathers, so that we turned away from and harmed anyone not of our cult. But benevolent God, wishing to draw us to the true path, sent forth holy martyrs so that they might endure our ill-treatment and become victors of Christ, while we might come to the knowledge of the only God. 136. On this Gregory, who refused to take part in our most abominable ritual and to sacrifice to idols, we inflicted many tortures. Eventually, defeated by his endurance, we passed sentence of a most cruel death. We cast him into a pit where poisonous snakes and beasts lived, in which when other malefactors were thrown they departed this life even before reaching the bottom of the pit; being unable to bear the hissing of the beasts, they immediately expired. But he by the grace of God was preserved for fifteen years, so that we might be saved by his teaching. 137. Now when holy virgin women fled from Diocletian, king of the Romans, from the great city of Rome, we were informed of their arrival by a letter from Diocletian himself. We arrested them, but could not persuade them to adhere to our error. So after inflicting many punishments, we put them to death. 138. Then Christ wished to chastise us through his anger, but benevolently. He transformed me the king into a wild beast and handed me over to the demons revered by us. The magnates and our servants ate their own flesh, tearing their clothes. 139. All these things the magnates dispatched by us as escort to the hero Gregory will relate in detail. When he was summoned out of the pit according to the vision of my sister, he came and healed us of the awful things that possessed us, and taught us

to stand in the orthodox faith and to recognise the living God and the Son and the holy Spirit. 140. We chose to make him pastor, but were quite unable to do so. To me, unworthy as I am, an angel appeared as a flash of lightning, urging me to do that, and saying that he would also appear to him so that he would not refuse the proposal, and adding that he should be taken for ordination to where he had studied the holy scriptures. 141. So in brief, we beg your holy hand to make him a priest and pastor for us, and to send him back with the magnates we dispatched; for we have become so eager that we smashed the idols and destroyed the temples. Everywhere the martyr Gregory set up crosses, marking where churches should be raised. 142. So may your Beatitude be zealous to bring our request rapidly to fruition. Pray for us with the holy priests and all your Christ-loving people that we may attain perfection,† so that after receiving the seal and grace of the good Saviour Christ, we may be numbered with your rational flock. Be well, most blessed ones, with your holy clergy and eminent leaders and all the people."

† Perfection: *teleiōsis*, full Christian status; see Lampe, s.v.

Arabic Va: 122. "From Trdat, king of Greater Armenia, and his wife Ašxen and his sister Xosroviduxt and from all the inhabitants of Armenia, to our lord and chief master [rys alrys'] Leontius in Cappadocia and Pontus, and to all his flock, and his chief magnates and all the Christians living in Caesarea. With complete love and humility and affirmation we must report and inform you, blessed ones who have cured the sick through the power of the living God, about our earlier wounds, and let you know about the greatness of the mercy of God who loves mankind, and the punishment that they imposed on us. 123. Formerly we were in the obscurity of a dark cloud and shadows covered our eyes. We were unable to recognise the true God, nor were we worthy to look on Christ the sun of righteousness, because we were in the grip of vain idols, as our fathers had been. And whoever did not share in our vain faith, him we rejected and tormented. But the God who loves mankind desired our return to the path of truth. He sent to us his martyrs, and they endured our malice and became saints of Christ. But we were unwilling to recognise the only true God. 124. This Gregory, who did not wish to join us in foul defilement or worship the idols with us, we tortured with various torments. But he defeated us by his endurance. After that we ordered him to be thrown to a cruel death in a very deep pit of serpents

in which we used to cast those worthy of death; before they reached the bottom they would die because of the stench of those serpents and immediately dry up [yībsw']. But this blessed one remained imprisoned there for fifteen years. We judged that to be a sign that grace and help were with him from God, so that we might be saved by his teaching. 125. Now some virgin women fled from the city of Rome away from king Diocletian and arrived in our country. Then a letter from the king to us arrived, informing us of this. We seized them, but they did not submit to our impiety. So we tortured them with various torments, and finally killed them. 126. But it pleased Christ to punish us for our wickedness, and in the magnitude of his mercy he chastised us. Indeed he turned me the king into the form of a pig, and handed me over to those demons whom I used to revere. But the princes and my nobles ate their own flesh and tore their clothes. 127. My messengers will explain to you what took place with Gregory. Because of the vision that appeared to my sister they brought the holy one out of the pit of vipers. By his prayers he freed us from the anger that had come upon us. And he taught us the correct faith, so that we might get to know the living God and his Son and holy Spirit. 128. We chose him to be our leader, but he did not obey us in what we asked of him. But to me, who was not worthy, an angel appeared, shining like lightning, and commanded me to do that, and said to me: 'I shall appear to him also so that he does not oppose you in what you may command, that is, the acceptance of leadership. Take him to be pastor for you, and take him to the place where he taught the scriptures.' 129. So we request you that you rapidly give him the sign of priesthood with your holy right hand, and make him pastor for us, and thus cause my messengers to rejoice. For we, in our great zeal, have destroyed the idols, overthrown the temples, and set up crosses in all places. And the martyr Gregory ordered us to build churches. 130. So may your holiness at our request now quickly carry this out. And pray for us with all your priests and our brothers in Christ, so that we may become worthy to receive perfection by baptism and grace from the Saviour Jesus Christ, and be numbered among your flock. Peace to you, blessed one, and to all your clergy and your governors and magnates and the inhabitants of your country."

Syriac Vs: 225. "Our lord, behold we address you and make known to your Holiness that formerly we sat in darkness and in the shadow of death and in the obscurity of sin, because we did not have the light,

Christ God, and we worshipped idols made by hands. 226. But in his mercy for mankind our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, sent us his servant the holy lord Gregory, that we might have salvation at his hands. 227. However, we tormented this saviour with cruel tortures, so that he might deny the God of truth and worship idols made by hands. 228. But he did not give way to this. After tortures and scrapings and torments that surpass the power of men to endure, we threw him into a deep pit in which were evil serpents. 229. He was put in [a place for] the punishment of evil-doers, in order that he might perish totally, although from those tortures we inflicted on him a benefit accrued to us—that we might recognise that the God he was preaching to us was true. 230. Furthermore, through the mercy of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who does not wish the death of a sinner, he sent us from your region spiritual lights, chaste women, holy nuns, to be for us a guide to the path of true life. 231. Since these did not submit to our licentiousness or worship our erring gods, we killed them with varied cruel deaths while they were at prayer. 232. Soon I became a boar, and there was fulfilled for me that which is written: 'A man who did not consider his own dignity was given up to the beasts and became like them.' Furthermore, the demons that we worshipped took hold of me and of the people of my palace, except for my wife and sister. 233. Then God increased his mercy and compassion; he who does not requite the sinner according to his deeds, who chastises in his mercy and instructs through compassion, who comes in search of the lost sheep, takes it on his shoulders and brings it to the fold, who knows the things that are certain to happen like those that have passed. 234. He preserved Gregory for us in the pit, so that he might be for us a healer for the wound that he had sent upon us as we deserved, from which he made mercy overflow for us. 235. He taught us the path of truth, and through his mercy he revealed to us that it is he who will heal you of that wound. And what is more, this became obvious to us, through the fact that someone cast into a pit, who had no hope of life, would survive after fifteen years. 236. So when he came, he instructed us in many things, and healed our wounds and taught us the path of life; and through him we believed in the God of truth, our Lord Jesus Christ. We renounced the idols and effaced them from our whole realm. And we begged him to accept priesthood and baptise us and bring us close to God, but he did not consent. 237. However, God in his mercy sent an angel to him and commanded him to do that. And to us as well he appeared in a vision, that we should not*

appoint anyone else except him. So now we have sent him to you, so that you may place hands on him and make him Catholicos for us, that is archbishop. Command, my lord, and do this; and pray for us, and commend us to the blessings of God, our Lord Jesus Christ."

* Cf. Dan. 5.21 [?].

§809. When he arrived at the borders of Armenia, Gregory heard that there remained in the land of Tarawn the temple of Vahagn,† a very wealthy temple,[1] full of gold and silver,* to which many offerings had been presented by the greatest kings. It was the eighth famous cult-site,† and was devoted to Vahagn, called the *Dragon-handler*,[2]† a place of sacrifice for the kings of Greater Armenia, on the summit of the mountain Karkē on the river Euphrates,† which looks across to the great Taurus range. It was called Yaštišat from the frequent sacrifices of the site,† for at that time there still stood three altars in it. The first was the temple of[3] Vahagn; the second that of the Golden-mother,† the Golden-born goddess, and the altar was called after her golden[4]† of the Golden-mother goddess;[5] the third was the temple named for the goddess Astłik,[6] called the concubine of Vahagn,[7] who is in Greek Aphrodite.† Gregory set out for this site in order to destroy it also, since ignorant men of the common people still made sacrifices at these surviving altars.

* I Macc. 6.1-2.

† Temple of Vahagn: *vahēvanean mehean*, with variants *vahēvahean* and *vahevahean*. T'ovma Arcruni, 214, spells the name *vaheavahan*. It is "Vahē" repeated and is an adjectival form of the deity's name; see Russell, *Zoroastrianism*, 194-195. *Ag* did not understand the word and transliterated it *Ouauēios*. The Vahuni noble family traced their origin from this deity; see Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 8 and 12, and for the history of the family Toumanoff, *Studies*, 215. For Vahagn see §127 above, and for his cult Russell, *Zorastrianism*, ch. 6: Vahagn, 189-234, and briefly in Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 419.

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1. Temple [*bis*]: *Ag*, altar, *bōmos*.
2. Vahagn, *visapak'ał*: *Ag*, the most famous Heracles *drakontopniktou*.
3. The temple of: *Ag*, that of.
4. Golden, *oskehat*: *Ag*, with golden grains, *chrysokokkos*.
5. Goddess [*bis*]: *Ag*, of the gods ... of the demons.
6. Temple ... Astłik: *Ag*, altar of the star god.
7. Concubine of Vahagn: *Ag*, of Heracles.

† Eighth: for the number of cult-sites see the Introduction, 19-20. Cult-site, *paštawn*, *sebasma* in *Ag*.

† Dragon-handler, *višapak'ał*, one who plucks or reaps *višaps*. For Vahagn and dragons see Movsēs Xorenac'i, I 31, and Russell, in note above. *Ag* renders *višapak'ał* by *drakontopniktos*, "dragon-strangler."

† Mt. Karkē: it overlooks the Aracani, a tributary of the Euphrates; see Hewsen, *Atlas*, map 48.

† Yaštišat: a popular etymology for the town of Aštišat, derived from *yašt*, "sacrifice," and *šat*, "much." For the true etymology, "joy of Astarte," see Markwart, "Parskahayk'," 283.

† Golden-mother: i.e. Anahit.

† Golden, *oskehat*, "formed out of gold, mined from gold, piece of gold." The stem *hat* means "fragment, piece, grain," hence the rendering *chrysokokkos* in *Ag*.

† Astłik: "little star," equated with Aphrodite; cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 12, 14. In *Ag*, *asteros theōn*, where the plural does not mean "gods," but renders the Armenian *dic'*. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Koč'umn* IV, p. 50, refers to the fabrication of idols of this goddess by lascivious men on the image of some man's wife. Concubine: *seneak*, lit. "chamber," hence figuratively "concubine." [Cf. "odalisque," from the Turkish *oda-lık*.]

Greek Vg: 154. When they all reached the land of Greater Armenia, everyone ran from afar to meet them. Finding in each city churches that had been founded, he planted there crosses. After celebrating the liturgy, they came to the land of Taron.

Greek Vo: 124. When he arrived at its borders and learned that there remained a temple of Aphrodite in the region of Taron at the village of Aštišat and sacrifices were conducted in it,

Arabic Va: 144. Now there was in a high place a temple to the idol called Aphrodite.

§810. When he returned from Greek territory he brought with him some relics from the bones[8] of the great prophet, blessed John

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8. From the bones: *Ag, om*.

the Baptist, and of the holy martyr of Christ,[9] Athenogenes.† When they arrived opposite these temples, near the river Euphrates, he wished to take them up to the high place of the temples[10] in order to destroy the altars and build martyria for them.[11]

† Athenogenes: martyred in Sebaste under Diocletian. He and John the Baptist were also commemorated at Bagawan in addition to Aštišat; see §836.

Arabic Va: 143. They came to the town of Aštišat. And in a certain place of that town the royal carriage in which saint Gregory was riding stopped. Now the blessed Peter was travelling with him in that [carriage], and they had some bones of Mar John the holy Baptist and also of saint Athenogenes.

Syriac Vs: and he brought some bones of saint John the Baptist and of other martyrs, one of the disciples of Peter the Apostle.

§811. After they had approached the river Euphrates to about two horse-courses[12] and were still intending to pass a small valley with a little water in it, the white mules of the carriage in which lay the divine treasures, the saints' relics, halted;† they were unable to drive them across the valley. An angel of the Lord appeared to Gregory, saying: "It has pleased the Lord that these saints of God should dwell in this spot." So there the whole multitude of the army[13] built the martyrium, each helping a little,[14] and they transferred the saints to rest.

† White mules, halted: This is a common theme when relics are being transferred; cf. I Kingdoms, 6.14, where the cows pulling the ark stop. In Armenian see Sebēos, 86, regarding the corpse of the prophet Daniel, where the mules went three stadia before stopping; *Ag* also reads "three stadia," against the "two stadia, *aršawan*," of *Aa* [no variants attested].

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9. Holy martyr of Christ: *Ag*, martyr.
10. Temples [*bis*]: *Ag*, altars.
11. Martyria for them: *Ag*, a martyrium for the relics.
12. Two horse-courses: *Ag*, three stadia.
13. Of the army: *Ag*, *om.*
14. Each helping a little: *Ag*, at the command of Gregory.

Also Pseudo-Šapuh, 67, where the mule drawing the carriage with the relic of the Cross halts at Hac'iwn; and Step'annos Orbelean, 265 [ch. 50]: the relics of St Mamas, being transported in a carriage drawn by white mules, stop at Xaraškōnk' in Vayoc' Jor, where a church in their honour is built. That the animal is white is also common, as in Orbelean, or Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, I 19, where specially selected white horses pull the litter containing the relics of Zacharias and Pantaleon, and a white bull pulls the vehicle containing the altar.

Greek Vg: 155. When they arrived at the village of Aštišat, the royal carriage in which saint Gregory and the holy Peter were seated with the holy relics of the glorious Baptist John and saint Athenogenes, stopped in a certain place. They realised that the saints wished to dwell in that spot. He ordered the magnates to build a house for saint John. And when the church [prophēteion] had been founded, they descended from the carriage and stayed in the village of Aštišat.

Arabic Va: Then they realised that the saints had decided to stay in that place, and they ordered the nobles who were with them to build in that place a church in the name of Mar John. This the saint knew through the holy Spirit. And when they had begun to build the church to the holy prophet, they dismounted from the carriage in the town of Aštišat.

Syriac Vs: 242. They left there and entered the realm of Armenia. They came to the region of Taron, exhausted and tired, and entered a valley in which there was a little water. The carriage that was bearing the fragments of those saints stopped and did not move on. 243. And an angel appeared to Gregory, saying: "Build here a church, and place in it the fragments of these saints, because such is the wish of God." Then lord Gregory commanded the whole retinue, and they built a splendid church. He sanctified it and placed in it the fragments of those saints. 244. He heard that there was near them in the town of Aštišat a large temple of idols, whose name was Vahevahe.

§812. While they were constructing the chapel Gregory ordered the soldiers and nobles who were with him to go up and destroy with their hammers the edifices of the altars. They went up and made

great efforts, yet they were unable to find the doors to the altars[15] in order to enter, because the demons[16] had hidden them from them. They tried from the outside, but their iron tools made no impression. Then the nobles hastened back and told him[17] everything.

Greek Vg: 156. At the highest point there was a temple of Aphrodite. So they ordered the magnates to go off and destroy it with the guards that accompanied them and a crowd of farmers carrying axles [axonas]. But when they went, they were unable to find the entrances, nor could they destroy the walls.

Greek Vo: he sent some of the princes in his entourage to destroy the temple and smash the abomination in it. On arriving they were unable to do anything, because the demons had shut the doors and were keeping watch in a circle around the temple. The princes left and informed saint Gregory, saying that they had been unable to do anything because the demons had closed the doors and were keeping watch outside the temple.

Arabic Va: The nobles ordered their retinue [and] the peasants to destroy it; they took axes and went to destroy it. But they could not find the way leading to it, nor were they able to harm the walls at all. 145. They returned and informed the holy one about this.

Syriac Vs: Saint Gregory sent men to go and uproot it. They took with them axes and hatchets and hoes, and departed. 245. When they reached it, they sought out the entrance, but did not find it from the tricks of the demons. They hacked at the wall, but the iron made no impact on it. The demons and priests and the rest of the people in it mocked them, for it was a large temple of idols.

§813. So he took the sign of the Lord's cross, and leaving the valley came up opposite the high places of the buildings[18] and said:

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15. Altars: *Ag*, temple.

16. *Ag*: + having made an appearance.

17. Him: *Ag*, the patriarch.

18. So ... buildings: *Ag*, So going out, the holy one stood opposite the hill where the altars were, and made the Lord's sign.

"Let your angel, Lord, drive them away." At his words a mighty wind blew from the wooden cross that the holy bishop[19] was holding in his hand. The wind, like a hurricane, rose as high as the mountain and struck,[20] flattened and overthrew all the constructions of the altars.† It destroyed them so thoroughly[21] that afterwards no one was able to find any traces in that spot, neither of stone nor wood, neither of gold nor silver; and it did not appear at all that there had ever been anything there.[22] Numberless men associated with the cult and pagan priesthood in that place were slaughtered, and no trace left of their bones.† And the countless men who saw this believed. Then saint Gregory said: "See now how your stumbling blocks have been erased, for they were[23] nothing. But serve henceforth the Lord God who made heaven and earth."

† The Cross arouses a wind: cf. Łewond, ch. 20, and Pseudo-Šapuh, 85, where the emperor Leo of Constantinople scatters the Arabs' fleet in a storm aroused by his holding up the Cross. See Delehaye, *Passions*, 215-216, for this motif.

† Slaughter of pagan priests: usually Agathangelos claims that they were converted; see note to §781.

Greek Vg: 157. When saint Gregory heard that, he took the honourable and life-giving Cross according to his custom, and set out for the place opposite the temple. Kneeling down, he prayed. And behold winds arose, and the stones and the wood of the roof and the votive-offerings and the servants of the temple were blown away, and thrown into a ravine very far away. 158. The pious Peter, who was accompanying saint Gregory, when he saw this was astonished.

Greek Vo: 125. On hearing this, the servant of God Gregory went off, and approaching the temple and making the sign of the cross, said: "May the power of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ expel you from there, impure demons." When he said that, immediately a strong wind

19. Wooden ... bishop: *Ag*, Lord's sign which he.

20. Like ... struck: *Ag, om.*

21. It ... thoroughly: *Ag*, it flattened the site of the valley.

22. And it ... there: *Ag, om.*

23. They were: *Ag*, the cults of the pagans, *ethnē*, are.

arose, beat against the temple, and overturned it from its foundations; it obliterated the abomination in it like dust, together with its priests. Seized by fear the inhabitants of the above-mentioned village fell before saint Gregory and begged him, saying: "Make known to us also the true God through whose power you have done this, so that our souls may be saved."

Arabic Va: Then he took the cross, went off with them and stood by the temple. He knelt and prayed. Then a strong wind arose; it tore down the walls and the wood was scattered. It threw the vessels and all the ministers of the temple into a deep valley far away. 146. When the holy Peter, who was with Gregory, saw this he was greatly amazed. The nobles came back with him in great joy and awe, and requested saint Gregory to baptise them in that spot.

Syriac Vs: 246. So they returned to saint Gregory and informed him of these things. Gregory responded and said to them: "Why are you feeble in faith? Come and see." The martyr of Christ, lord Gregory arch-priest, went up a hill opposite that temple of idols and prayed saying: 247. "Our Lord Jesus Christ, God of truth, send your angel and destroy this temple of idols, so that stone not be found on stone." 248. There was in his hand a staff with a cross fixed at the top. And with his utterance he made the sign of the cross facing that temple of idols. A wind came forth from the cross and destroyed that temple of idols, and stone was not left upon stone. 249. It was pulverised like dust, which the wind scattered over everything until its site appeared flat, as if there had never been a building on it. And they slew the priests and the rest of the people in it, about three thousand, and [there was] much gold and silver.

§814. After this he went up to the sites of the temples, and gathering the inhabitants of the land he converted them to true piety. He set there foundations for the church, and erected an altar to the glory of Christ; for it was there that he first made a beginning of building churches.† He erected an altar to the name of the holy Trinity[24] and arranged a baptismal font. He illuminated with baptism† first those great princes who were with him and had

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24. He ... Trinity: *Ag*, and of erecting altars in the name of Christ.

travelled with him to the city of Caesarea, and then the people of the province, the inhabitants of the land.[25] He lodged [there] for twenty days and baptised more than one hundred and ninety thousand persons. He erected an altar in the martyrium of repose of the saints which he had built, and he offered the saving liturgy, and distributed there the body and blood of the life-giving Christ.

† Beginning of building churches. This is stressed in the *Buzandaran*, which describes the importance of Aštišat as the patriarchal see, and the activities associated with it.

† Illuminated with baptism: as above, §792, with further references.

Greek Vg: The magnates, returning in joy, asked to be baptised. After he had completed the deposition of the saints, of the Precursor and Baptist and of the martyr Athenogenes, and when he had been enthroned and had taken the apostolic throne, he baptised all the magnates with their wives and children.

Greek Vo: The most holy Gregory began to instruct them: "Behold you have learned that the idols which you worshipped were nothing. So from now on serve your God, who made heaven and earth and everything in them." Having instructed them all, he laid the foundation of a church and set up an altar to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. He built a baptistery and baptised them, beginning with the satraps and princes who had gone with him to Caesarea. Staying there for twenty days he baptised all those who dwelt in the province round about, in number nineteen times ten thousand.

Arabic Va: After they had completed the building of the shrine of the holy Mar John and of the martyr Athenogenes, they consecrated the church, took the blessed one, and set him on the throne of the disciples according to [canon-] law [sunna]. Then he baptised all the princes who had been with him in the city of Caesarea and all their servants. A large number of people gathered, men, women and children, and he baptised them. They all rejoiced and hastened to become perfect† [Christians], especially because of the miracles they had seen.

† Perfect: *t'min*, i.e. *teleios*; cf. above to *Vg* 142.

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25. And had … land: *Ag, om.*

Syriac Vs: 250. They returned to the church that he had built. And he constructed a baptistery in it, and baptised there eight myriads. He celebrated the liturgy, and administered to them the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, our true God.

§815. He ordered that year by year everyone should come together[26] at that same spot and celebrate the commemoration of the saints,[27] which was the seventh day of the month Sahmi,[28] and that gathering joyfully they should assemble on that feast day;† for there he first began building churches.[29] And he established priests in every place, and filled the regions with church buildings and priests.[30]

† Commemoration: 7th of Sahmi, October in *Ag*. For the correspondence of Sahmi and October see above §210. See §836 for the feast day of Athenogenes and John the Baptist in Bagawan, where it was celebrated on *Nawasard*, "New Year's day."

Greek Vo: He also ordained priests, deacons, and all the clergy in succession, in the church of that village [that he] had built, and entrusted [to them] the building of churches and appointment of clergy for all the towns and villages of the above-mentioned province.

§816. He[31] himself set out from there with the sublime boast of the power of the cross of Christ, and he took a part of the saints' relics in order to establish their commemorations[32] in other places. He journeyed through every place and every province. In the towns and estates he built churches, conducted baptism and established priests.†

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26. Everyone should come together: *Ag*, *om*.

27. Saints: *Ag*, martyrs.

28. *Ag*: + and according to the Romans of October.

29. Churches: *Ag*, a church and established altars.

30. In every place … priests: *Ag*, in those places and performed baptisms.

31. *Ag*: + filled the land round about with churches and priests and.

32. Establish their commemorations: *Ag*, build martyria.

† This paragraph is out of chronological context, as is the repetition in §831. The latter part of Agathangelos' *History* is less coherent in structure than the earlier part.

§817. Then the great king Trdat heard that Gregory had arrived in Armenia. He took his army and his wife Ašxēn and sister Xosroviduxt and set out from the province of Ayrarat, from the city of Vałaršapat, to meet Gregory.[33] He arrived in the town of Bagawan, called in the Parthian tongue Dic'awan,[34] and there he remained for a month waiting for him.† But [Gregory] moved around in order to fill every region with churches, priests, ministers,† and all the ranks of divine service, and to illuminate many through baptism.[35]

† Dic'awan: lit. "town of the god[s]," *dic'* being plural in form but often used for the singular, e.g. *Astłkan dic'* in §809, "the goddess Astłik." Bagawan is on the upper Aracani/Euphrates, see Hewsen, *Atlas*, Map 27; for its history and bibliography see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 452. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 55, 66, III 67, calls it "town of altars, *bagnac'n awan*," as if the name derived from *bagin*, not the Iranian *bag*, "god;" cf. the rendering in *Ag, kōmopolis of altars*.

† Ministers: *paštawneayk'*. The term often has the sense of "deacons," though that is rendered specifically by *sarkawag* in §820.

Greek Vo: 126. When king Tiridates heard that the holy Gregory had arrived in Armenia from the land of Cappadocia, he came out to meet the saint with all his army, his wife, and his sister as well.

Syriac Vs: 251. They remained there for three days, and he taught the whole province. He placed in it priests and deacons. From there he went to the region of Ekeleac', built there a splendid church, and baptised them all. 252. When Trdat heard news of him, he came out himself, his wife, his sister, and his nobles with a large retinue, and crowds without number, to meet him at Arzn. And they waited there two months for him.

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33. Gregory: *Ag*, the archbishop.

34. Dic'awan: *Ag*, village, *kōmopolis*, of altars.

35. Ministers ... baptism: *Ag*, baptisms, illuminating everyone through the orders of ecclesiastics.

§818. Then he arrived in the above-mentioned Dic'awan[36] with all the magnates and the army[37] and the mass of the common people, who had gathered from every region and were following him around and obtaining from him healing and the fulfilment of each one's needs.[38] And he, through his teaching that spread to all, sowed in everyone the word of life; and with all the servants of the gospel who were with him, whom no one could name individually, he preached the gospel.[39] With these the blessed bishop, trusting in[40] God's grace, came† to the base of the mountain Npat.†

† With all the servants of the gospel ... came: as Koriwn, 60, where Maštoc' goes to Gołt'n with servants of the Gospel.

† Npat: above Bagawan. It is famous for the story in the *Buzandaran*, V 4, that the patriarch Nersēs went up to pray while the Greek and Armenian armies engaged in battle below; cf. Moses on Mt Rephidim when Joshua smote the Amalekites, Exodus, ch. 17.

Greek Vo: [Gregory] reached the town called Bagavan, where the river Euphrates begins its course,

§819. The king with all his army went out to greet him on the bank of the river Euphrates, and at their meeting he filled them all with the salutation of Christ's gospel.[41] With great rejoicing and joy they returned to the town.† And there the nobles presented to the king the reply they had brought to his letter of greeting,[42] which was written in the following terms:

† The king ... town: as Koriwn, 54, where Maštoc' returns to meet king Vṙamšapuh.

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36. Dic'awan: *Ag*, Bagawan.

37. And the army: *Ag, om.*

38. And ... needs: *Ag, om.*

39. He preached the gospel: *Ag, om.*

40. Bishop trusting in: *Ag*, archbishop filled with.

41. The salutation of Christ's gospel: *Ag*, divine grace and evangelical greetings appropriate to Christ's teachings.

42. To his letter of greeting: *Ag, om.*

Greek Vg: 159. King Tiridates, with queen Ašxen and his sister Xosroviduxt, and the kings of the Iberians, Laz and Albanians, and with the phylarchs and clan chiefs, came to meet saint Gregory. Greeting him and the pious Peter, he received all the magnates. He also received the holy letter of the most saintly patriarch Leontius and read it; for he had much experience of Greek and Roman learning, having been at school when he was with Licinius the Roman general and consul. He translated the letter sent by Leontius from Greek into the Armenian tongue. All those who heard it were greatly enthusiastic to attain holy baptism and to partake of undefiled communion. 160. Saint Gregory and the king, after giving many gifts to the pious Peter, bade him farewell.

Greek Vo: and the king met him with the army and the above-mentioned women on the bank of that same Euphrates river. Filled with the greatest joy and happiness, he escorted him into the town.

Arabic Va: 147. When king Trdat heard that saint Gregory had returned, he took his wife Ašxen and his sister Xosroviduxt, and the king of the Georgians, the king of the Laz [Rus in the text!], and the king of the Albanians, the principal nobles and governors of the clans, and they went out to met saint Gregory. They greeted him and the holy bishop Peter. [The king] received all the princes who were with him, each one according to his rank, took the letter of the holy patriarch Leontius and read it; for the king was truly very skilled in the Roman [tongue], since his upbringing had been in the palace with the patrician Licinius. Then he began to interpret for the people the letter that had reached him from the patriarch Leontius. He translated it from Greek into Roman, and from Roman into Armenian.

Syriac Vs: 253. Gregory went up to that province and baptised, as far as Kozan and its surrounds, and other distant places. When he came to the region of Arzn, king Trdat and the rest of those with him came out to meet him. On seeing him, they paid him obeisance and rejoiced with great joy. 254. Then he gave him the letter of Leontius, patriarch of Rome; he kissed it and read it.

Copy of the Reply to the Letter

§820. "To you who have been beaten and admonished, tormented and calmed, tortured and subdued, lost and found,* gone astray and converted, noticed and beloved by the Lord,† to Tiridates king of Greater Armenia and queen Ašxēn and princess Xosroviduxt, and all the general populace of Greater Armenia,[43] Leontius archbishop and metropolitan of great Caesarea,† and all the priestly clergy of the holy church, bishops, priests, deacons and people, greetings in the Lord.

* Lk. 15.4.

† The antitheses in the greeting are reminiscent of II Cor. 6.8-10.

† For Leontius' titles see above, note to §800.

Greek Vg: 148. The letter written by the patriarch ran as follows: "To Tiridates, king of Greater Armenia, and queen Ašxen, and Xosroviduxt, and to all the populace, peace from the living God and the Lord Jesus Christ and the holy Spirit: Leontius, archbishop of Greater Cappadocia, greetings. You who have been chastised and come to knowledge, who had gone astray and were found, who were dead and received life, rejoice and be glad always that through your earlier wickedness perpetrated on the martyrs and the affliction which befell you, you have come to knowledge of the truth. 149. When we learned everything through your letter and from the messengers, we praised the grace of Christ which shone upon you through the holy virgins, put to death by you while you were still in error, who have inherited eternal life. Likewise through the holy martyr Gregory, who endured so many and such evils; he who from childhood was raised in the knowledge of God, studied the good, and was trained in the divinely-inspired scriptures. When among you he kept his faith in Christ, and completing his course according to the Apostle, carried off crowns; and having bestowed on you the grace of God through his teaching, he was included in the elect of God. 150. In accordance with your request we in our insignificance have promoted him to the rank of high-priesthood [archierōsynē], whom even earlier the holy Spirit had summoned to ground you [in the faith];*

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43. Of Greater Armenia: *Ag*, around you from that great country.

and like a priest he fulfilled everything in you. So receive the good shepherd and wise teacher as high-priest. 151. We ceaselessly pray that you remain unshaken in the right faith, loving God, subject to the high-priest given to you by the grace of Christ. When you accomplish such conduct you will be close to us; for if we are separated in the body, we are near in soul. May the good God and only-begotten Son preserve you through the holy Spirit in untroubled mind, flourishing in his peace in soul and body."

* II Tim. 4.7.

Arabic Va: 136. Now in the letter that the holy Leontius had written to the king it was [written] as follows: "To Trdat, king of Greater Armenia, and queen Ašxen and his sister Xosroviduxt and to all the people, peace to you from the living God Jesus Christ, Son of the only God, and [from] the holy Spirit. From Leontius, archbishop in the city of the great gate [bāb, i.e. court] of Caesarea, peace to you who were punished and turned to the knowledge [of God], for you were lost and were found, you were dead and lived and received life. Rejoice and be glad always, because through your former wickedness that you inflicted on the saints, and through the wounds that surrounded you, you turned to the perfect knowledge [of God]. 137. Whatever you wrote to me in your letter and that your messengers expounded we have learned, and we glorified the grace of Christ that shone upon you through the virgins whom you killed, because then you were in error—but they have inherited eternal life with Jesus Christ our God—, and likewise through saint Gregory, who from his childhood was brought up in the knowledge of God and in the teaching of good deeds and of the holy scriptures, and who came to you and kept his faith in Christ and completed his course, as the Apostle said, and merited a crown, and bestowed divine favour on you by teaching you, and joined the elect of Christ. 138. In accordance with your request I have bestowed on him the heavenly gift, and he received that rank from us wretched ones and has become a pastor of the flock. From the beginning the holy Spirit selected him to strengthen you, and as leader he has fulfilled everything for you. So receive the holy one, the good shepherd and wise teacher and first leader. 139. Now we shall pray for you always [that you stay] in the right faith in your love for God, and heed the good shepherd with whom you have been endowed by Christ's gift. When you do this you will be with us; even if we are separated in the body, yet we are of one mind in the spirit. May God the good Father and the only Son Christ God preserve you through the

holy Spirit, and free you from trouble and embrace you in his love. Peace to you in soul and body."

§821. "For the life-giving salvation bestowed on you by God, as has been narrated to us, with unbounded joy we have thanked the immutable glory[44] of Christ, as also for the holy martyrs of God who were[45] glorified among you in your country. And may you, reflecting on the outcome of their conduct and imitating their faith,* also be glorified and crowned with their crowns.

* Heb. 13.7.

§822. "The creator of everything and of all worlds, who wishes that all[46] may receive adoption,* by the pleasure of his own will admonishes everyone, whereby he may give consolation from the toil of vain works,[47] and in his kingdom give rest to those with burdens and those who have laboured. 'For his yoke is sweet and his load is light.'* [These] he takes under his protection and instructs, in order that he may make everyone worthy of his rest.

* Eph. 1.5. Mt. 11.28-30.

§823. "Because you did not previously realise what was worthy, therefore he brought this unworthy scourge[48] upon you, and awoke you as if from sleep so that you might know the sobriety which was fitting.[49] And because you did not understand what pertained to humanity by human means, he made you aware by non-human means. The man whom in your ignorance you despised has confirmed you in immovable knowledge. For the rock which was dishonoured by you the builders, became for you the chief cornerstone.*

* Mt. 21.42, Acts 4.11, I Pet. 2.7.

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44. Glory: *Ag*, gifts, *charismata*.

45. *Ag*: + were sent to you and.

46. All: *Ag*, you.

47. Of vain works: *Ag, om*.

48. Unworthy scourge: *Ag*, rod of scourging.

49. Which was fitting: *Ag*, of his visitation to you.

§824. "The one whom you angered by your denial, with tears you will placate. He to whom you closed your eyes and considered as darkness,* has shone forth and opened and illuminated your eyes.[50] He has stripped off from you the pagan darkness[51] that enveloped you, and has put on you raiment of shining light. He whom you presumed in your boastful* folly to destroy, the same has been given to you as teacher of wisdom and has been bestowed upon you as mentor.[52]†

* Mt. 13.15. Lk. 18.9.

† Mentor: *gtič'*, lit. "one who finds." No variant is attested, but *Ag* may have read *grič'*, "scribe," since it reads *grammateus*.

§825. "Now when we saw this man who is so marvellous, and when we heard of the mighty wonders which were accomplished through him among you,[53] we were overwhelmed in the depths of God's love as in the vast waters of the numberless waves; and with constant joy for this reason,[54] and with unceasing mouth and unresting voice we blessed our Lord Jesus Christ, the benevolent, the worker of miracles and dispenser of gifts. And we offered thanksgiving to God the Father of all by giving Gregory the incorruptible gifts of the holy Spirit, whereby you too might become worthy of the felicitous grace[55] of the kingdom of heaven. Now do you remember us, far off in the body but near in the spirit, in your neophyte prayers, in the salvation granted you, and especially when you gather in your joy to commemorate your saints.

§826. "And may the testimony[56] between our two regions remain firm, that the gift from us[57] of the new high-priestly rank to your

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50. Your eyes: *Ag*, the eyes of your heart.

51. Pagan darkness: *Ag*, godlessness.

52. Teacher … mentor, *gtič'*: *Ag*, wisdom and scribe, *grammateus*, of life.

53. We saw … you: *Ag*, we heard these things.

54. As … reason: *Ag*, we were astounded at his incomprehensible gifts.

55. Felicitous grace: *Ag*, peace.

56. Testimony, *vkayut'iwn*: *Ag*, covenant of martyrdom.

57. From us: *Ag*, *om*.

country may remain immovably in our church of Caesarea,† whence has been prepared for you the ordination of salvation.[58] Thus the incorruptible gifts of the sacrament[59]† will be distributed to you by the right hand of the martyred one,[60] through the grace of the renewal of baptism and of the saving cross and of the life-giving body and expiatory blood of Christ, and through the blessing of the increasing priesthood. Thus you will be raised up, and making constant prayer[61] will be joined to[62] the hosts of the company saved by Christ. Be well in Christ, and may you continually enjoy the salvation of the Lord."

† Note the emphasis on the Armenian episcopate being "immovably, *anšarž*," linked to Caesarea. The *Buzandaran* indicates that Gregory's successors continued to go to Caesarea for consecration, and that when Yusik was installed without that bishop's permission he was stripped of his authority by a council of the bishops of the province of Caesarea; see the *Buzandaran*, V 29, and the commentary in Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 322-323. The break was irrevocable after the death of Sahak in 439; cf. the *Narratio*, §31.

† Sacrament: *xorhurd*, usually meaning the eucharist, as in §834. Here Agathangelos emphasises baptism, leading to communion, and also the sacrament of ordination; cf. §753 above for the importance of the right hand.

§827. They were happy at the consolation of the letter. And because the travellers had returned illuminated and with visible gifts of divine grace, they spread all the more their fervour of spiritual love,[63]† and were established ever more firmly in the faith with great and joyous happiness.

† They spread ... love: as Koriwn, 70, of Maštoc' at Nor K'ałak'.

Arabic Va: Those who heard it rejoiced and were glad, and they hastened to receive baptism so that they might be worthy to receive the

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58. Ordination of salvation: *Ag*, gift of ordination.

59. Incorruptible gifts of the sacrament: *Ag*, immortal food, *brōmata*.

60. By the right hand of the martyred one: *Ag, om.*

61. And making constant prayer: *Ag, om.*

62. *Ag*: + the spiritual chant, *ōdē*, and.

63. *Ag*: + for each other.

holy body. 148. The blessed Gregory requested the king to present the bishop Peter with many gifts and to send him back to his own place, which he in fact did.

§828. Then, according to his usual habit, he set himself to unceasing instruction, and with the assistance of the pious† king Trdat set forth his skill and continuously gave admonition. Thus ever more people submitted to him according to God's commands, the king and all the army with the mass of the common people all undertaking to fulfil his request† and execute his orders.

† According . ..pious: as Koriwn, 60, of Maštoc' in Gołt'n.

† His skill ... request: as Koriwn, 62, of Maštoc' in Georgia.

Greek Vg: 161. Saint Gregory once more through his spiritual instruction began to catechise, teaching the people the word of truth.

Greek Vo: After bringing together the populace of the town and instructing them in the word of the Lord, and having begun to build a church,

Arabic Va: 149. Then saint Gregory through the holy Spirit began to teach them the right faith.

§829. He commanded the royal army[64] to spend a month in fasting and prayer. With the companions that he had brought thence he imposed on himself his customary fasting and prayer, vigils, tearful supplications, austerities, world-lamenting cares, having regard for the words of the inspired prophet: "When you will lament, then you will live."*

* Is. 30.15.

Greek Vg: [He instructed them] that for thirty days they should devote themselves to fasting and the lessons of the faith, and he promised to baptise them when the assigned days had been completed. 162. The king and magnates did as he had instructed them, no longer taking advantage

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64. Army: *Ag*, household with the army.

of their own ranks in the catechising, but all behaved as equals, kings and common people.

Greek Vo: he made them fast for thirty days until the construction of the holy church should be accomplished.

Arabic Va: He ordered them to fast for thirty days, and taught them the faith, and promised he would give them baptism when the days were up. 150. The princes did as he had ordered them, nor was there any of them who acted out of desire for worldly things, but they all had one law [šr‘], magnates and common people.

Syriac Vs: Saint Gregory ordered the king and the crowds to fast for forty days, and then they would be baptised.

§830. In this way he exerted much effort to find helpful blessing for the whole land.[65] To him the gift was granted by all-gracious God to produce a new and wonderful birth in fatherly fashion,† by his[66] holy and liberal right hand;† to give birth once again to everyone from water and the womb of the Spirit* through baptism, and to perfect, purify and seal one people of the Lord.

* Jn. 3.5.

† Fatherly fashion, *hayrakan č‘ap‘u.* Note the juxtaposition of father and womb, *argand,* in the figure for baptism; cf. the *Teaching,* §412. This reflects the conception of the Holy Spirit as female, which is a Syrian tradition; see Zekiyan, "Armenian Spirituality," 266 and n. 8 [p. 281], with reference to previous literature. For Armenian baptismal ritual see Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale,* and §832ff.

† [§829-30] With the companions ... right hand: as Koriwn, 48, where Maštoc‘ invents an Armenian script.

§831. There he set foundations and built a church; and the relics† which he had of the saints' bones[67] he deposited in the Lord's house. In this way throughout all parts of the regions he set foundations for

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65. *Ag*: + so that he might become a guide to salvation for all.

66. His: *Ag*, Christ's.

67. Bones: *Ag, om.*

churches, erected altars, and established priests.† The whole land was converted, and with all their hearts they were assiduous in fasting and in the worship[68] and fear of God.

† Relics: cf. §810 above.

† Again Agathangelos emphasises that Gregory set up churches everywhere, quite out of chronological context; cf. §816.

Greek Vg: 163. Saint Gregory himself hastened to establish a church in Bagavan, giving himself to prayers and tears, and praying that the people might remain in the faith entrusted to them. With the reverend priests and monks who had accompanied him, he laid down churches and appointed priests well informed in the holy scriptures. Some he sent to the lands of the Iberians and of the Laz, others to Albania.

Greek Vo: 127. Likewise he ordered churches to be built in all the surrounding area. When the church established in the town had been finished in the thirty days, he set up an altar in it.

Arabic Va: 151. Saint Gregory wished to build a church in Bagavan, and gave himself over to prayers and tears and requests that they keep the faith which they had received, with all the presbyters who were with him and the monks whom he intended to appoint as priests in the churches. He began to consecrate churches and to establish priests in them from among those who knew the holy scriptures; some he sent to Georgia, some to the land of the Abxaz, and others to the Albanians.

§832. Then at the final completion of the fast he had imposed, the blessed Gregory took the mass of the army and the king himself, and his wife Ašxēn and the princess Xosroviduxt, and all the magnates with the people of the army, and in the morning[69] at dawn he brought them to the bank of the river Euphrates. There he baptised them all together in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit.*†

* Mt. 28.19.

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68. Worship, *paštōn*: *Ag*, prayers.

69. With ... morning: *Ag, om.*

† The ritual of the following mass baptism has been studied in detail in Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, 103-132.

Greek Vg: 164. When the thirty days were completed, with the priests and all the clergy they brought the whole crowd to the river Arsanias, near the royal village of Bagavan. There were about three hundred and seventy thousand—king Tiridates himself, the kings of the Laz, Iberians and Albanians, and the magnates, toparchs, heads of clans and tribes, and all the troops accompanying them, and a vast retinue, women, men and children. 165. Then they spread out along the middle of the river curtains and hangings for the royal ladies and all the women to descend into the bath of regeneration behind the curtains. The male magnates and their wives who had been baptised earlier he ordered to attend to those brought forward under the hand of the saint and the priests with him—men for men, women for women. 166. When they had all put off their clothing, anointing each one with myron he imposed the sign of Christ on them at the high bank of the river, first the king, and then the rest of the male magnates.*

* Tit. 3.5.

Greek Vo: Then taking the king and all the army and his wife Ašxen with his sister Xosroviduxt, he went to the river Euphrates and there baptised everyone in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit.

Arabic Va: 152. When the thirty days were finished, with the clergy around him he took all the people and went with them to the river Euphrates near the royal town called Bagavan. Their number was thirty-seven myriads [370,000]: king Trdat, the king of the Abxaz, the king of the Georgians, the king of the Albanians, all the nobles and governors of clans and tribes, and whoever was under their authority, many servants, men, women and children. 153. They spread out curtains on the river so that the kings' wives could come down to be baptised. Sixteen princes, who earlier had been baptised by saint Gregory, and their wives received from baptism those who were baptised at that time, and attended them, men for men and women for women. 154. He ordered them to put off their clothes, first of all king Trdat. Saint Gregory stood at the bank of the river with the three kings and the nobles, and anointed them with myron and the sign of the cross. 155. Taking myron and oil he poured them into the river and made the sign of the cross.

Syriac Vs: After they had fasted, he brought them out to the head of the source of the great river Euphrates. He took oil of myron and poured it in the spring.

§833. When all the people and the king went down to baptism[70] in the waters of the river Euphrates, a wonderful sign was revealed by God. The waters of the river stopped and then turned back again,† and a bright light† appeared in the likeness of a shining pillar.† It stood over the waters of the river, and above it was the likeness of the Lord's cross. †[71] The light shone out so brightly that it obscured and weakened the rays of the sun. And the oil of anointing,[72] which Gregory poured over the people,[73] floated around them in the river.† Everyone was amazed and raised blessings to God's glory. In the evening the sign disappeared, and they returned to the town. Those who were baptised on that day were more than one hundred and fifty thousand persons of the royal army.

† River turned back. There are parallels in the Life of Gregory the Wonderworker; and in the story of Peter *getadarj*, "turning the river back," Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, 31-32. That the Jordan turned back at the baptism of Jesus is a commonplace; see Jacoby, *Ein bisher unbeachteter apokrypher Bericht*, esp. 56-58 for this passage in Agathangelos.

† Bright light: see Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 89, for the same miracle at the baptism of Gregory, father of Gregory Nazianzenus.

† Shining pillar: van Esbroeck, "Legends about Constantine," 83, draws a parallel with Cyril's vision of a cross in Jerusalem.

† Cross: as at the death of Maštoc' in Koriwn, 92.

† Oil: see Winkler [note to §832], who also compares the details of the baptism in the other versions.

Greek Vg: 167. Taking myron and oil, he poured them into the river, making the form of a cross. A great miracle occurred: the river reversed its course, staying calm, and the currents stood still. He brought them down to the waters that had been blessed. Placing his hands on each

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70. To baptism: *Ag, om.*

71. Cross: *Ag*, sign.

72. Of anointing: *Ag*, for catechumens, *katēchoumenikon*.

73. The people: *Ag*, those being baptised.

one, he baptised them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit. The other priests did the same to everyone. A fiery column appeared in the midst of the waters having the form of a cross. When everyone saw the subordination of the waters and the flaming column, they were amazed, and in great awe they were all the more steadfast in the orthodox faith.

Greek Vo: While he was baptising them, amazing wonders were performed by the Lord: when they were going down into the water the currents of the river suddenly stood still, and the holy oil of chrism was not dispersed anywhere but eddied around them; and as it were a column of immeasurable light stood above the waters, and above that column was the likeness of the Lord's Cross. When evening arrived and they had all been granted baptism in the name of the Lord, that amazing and awesome sign was removed from them; so the multitude of those baptised praised God and entered the town with hymns. 128. The number of those baptised was about fifteen times ten thousand.

Arabic Va: At that time a miracle occurred: the river stopped in its course and stayed still, and its currents were calmed. Then he placed his hand on their heads, with his holy right hand immersed them with three dippings into the water, and baptised them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit. The priests did the same with the rest of the men, and likewise with the wives of the kings and the wives of the rest of the men. A fiery pillar appeared in the middle of the river, with a cross shining on the pillar. All the people gazed at it on the water, the fiery pillar and the cross shining on it. Then they were astonished and astounded, and their faith in Christ was greatly increased.

Syriac Vs: 255. Immediately the heavens were opened, and a great light descended on the oil and illuminated them all. Compared to that light the sun seemed like an obscure star. 256. The river Euphrates turned back on its course, and the sound of angels was heard praising God. The Euphrates spread out over all that plain and covered all the people there up to their chest. 257. He baptised there ninety thousand myriads† of people, and the waters of the river returned and flowed in their normal course.

† 90x1,000x10,000=900,000,000! The same figure is given in *Vk*.

§834. They came up in great joy, in white garments, with psalms and blessings* and lighted lamps and burning candles and blazing torches,† with great rejoicing and much happiness, illuminated and become like the angels. They had received the title of God's adoption,* had entered the inheritance of the holy gospel,* and being joined to the ranks of the saints* were flowering[74] with sweet odour in Christ.* So they went up and returned to the Lord's house. There he offered the blessed sacrifice[75]† and communicated them all with the sacrament of thanksgiving. He distributed to all the holy body and precious blood of Christ the Saviour of all that vivifies and gives life to all men, the creator and fashioner of all creatures;[76]† and he liberally administered to all the divinely-given grace.

* Eph. 5.19. * Rom. 8.15, 23, 9.4, Gal. 4.5, Eph. 1.5. * Eph. 1.18. * Acts 26.18. * Eph. 5.2, Phil. 4.18.

† With psalms ... torches: as Koriwn, 94, describing the funeral of Maštoc'. Cf. also the funerals of Vrt'anēs and Nersēs in the *Buzandaran*, III 11, V 24.

† Blessed sacrifice: note that *Ag* uses the adjective *logikē*, "rational;" for parallels see Lampe, s.v. *thysia*, 6.

† To all men, the creator and fashioner of all creatures. This is omitted in *βad* and *Ag*; grammatically the phrase refers to the body and blood, but logically it refers to Christ.

Greek Vg: 168. Emerging from the waters in shining garments, they each rejoiced greatly, relating the wonders from the beginning and what had occurred in the water. Thus they all processed with the saint and the priests, with doxologies, candles and lamps to the church founded in Bagavan. There they performed the canon and carried out the holy mysteries, each one having been rendered worthy of holy communion.

Arabic Va: 156. When they came out of the water, they were happy and joyful and told each other about the wonders they had seen in the water. The holy one led them off from there with prayer, in the company of all the clergy with candles and incense, until he came with them to the

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74. Title ... flowering: *Ag*, adoption of the gospel and were breathing.

75. He ... sacrifice: *Ag*, the archbishop celebrated the rational service, *logikē latreia*.

76. To all ... creatures: *Ag, om*.

church that they had built in the town of Bagavan. They kept a vigil [agrypnia] and began the liturgy, and he offered [communion] to the king and the nobles and the rest of the people. Then he dismissed them to their homes, rejoicing and happy that they had been saved from a useless and gloomy path and had attained a path filled with the light of life.

Syriac Vs: He pitched a tent in the place where he had poured the oil; he put up an altar and offered the liturgy, and communicated to them the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, our true God. 258. That light remained over them from dawn until the ninth hour, and there came from them an aroma of spices. He built in the place where he had poured the oil a canopy, and he named it "where the light of life descended."

§835. After this he remained there seven days for spiritual consolation. And in those seven days there were baptised from the royal camp more than four million men, women and children.

† Four million: lit. "four hundred times ten thousand, *č'orek'ariwr biwr*," though *biwr* can stand for "a large number."

Syriac Vs: 259. They stayed there eight days, and in those eight days he baptised another three hundred thousand people. He went from there to Vałaršapat, the city of Trdat, and baptised them all.

§836. He fixed the date for celebrating the commemoration of the martyrs that he had brought as a major festival, at the time of the festival of the vain cults of the god Amanor,† the bringer of new fruits, and of the god Hiwrěnkal Vanatur,[77]† which they previously used to celebrate in that same place on the feast of New Year's Day.[78] [He commanded][79] that they should gather for the commemoration of the great and blessed John[80] and the holy martyr of God,

77. God Amanor ... Vanatur: *Ag*, new times for the first fruits, *aparchai*, of the fruits, called of the hospitable gods.

78. On the feast of New Year's day: *Ag*, joyfully from old times on the day of the completion of the year.

79. *Ag:* The holy one decreed.

80. Great and blessed John: *Ag*, John the Baptist.

Athenogenes, and celebrate their festival on that day in the same town.[81]

† Amanor: "day of the new time," i.e. Nawasard, "New Year's day."

† *Hiwrĕnkal*, "receiving guests, hospitable," *Vanatur*, "giving asylum." The two terms render *Dios Xeniou* in II Macc. 6.2; Ag translates as "hospitable deity, *xenodektōn theōn*" [the plural *theōn* for the ambiguous Armenian *dic'*, as above, §817]. This refers to the cult of Aramazd; see Russell, "Armenian Religion," 439. Bdoyan, "Vanatur ew Amanor," regards them as paired deities, male and female, with a similar function. This echoes Ališan, *Hin Hawatk'*, 325-330, who equated Amanor with Pomona and her spouse with Vertumnus. At Aštišat the festival of John the Baptist and Athenogenes was celebrated on the 7th of Sahmi, see §815.

81. *Ag*: + Bagawan.

§837. Then the blessed Gregory embarked on his teaching, and he softened the crowds to accept it;[1] and pursuing ever more profound teaching he filled everyone with spiritual blessings.†[2] After that he journeyed over all the districts of Greater Armenia,† building churches in all lands, provinces, quarters, cities, towns, inhabited places, villages and estates. Similarly the king throughout his whole realm decreed that four fields† in every estate and seven fields in each town should be dedicated to the use of the ministering priesthood, for them to offer the fruits to the Lord.

† Then ... blessings: as Koriwn, 68, where Maštoc‘ returns from Constantinople.

† He journeyed ... Armenia: as Koriwn, 60, of Maštoc‘ in Siwnik‘.

† Fields: *hols erdoy*: *hol* is "earth, soil," and *erd* here means "household;" for the meanings of *erd* see above §734. Cf. also Thomson, *Elishē*, 199, n. 4, with further references.

Greek Vg: 191. King Tiridates did not cease studying the divinely-inspired scriptures, instructed by saint Gregory. He always acted piously, for in each large village he set aside five so-called plots [oikarchia], and in small ones three, to support the priests appointed to the direction of the churches and their support.

Greek Vo: 128. So in this fashion the preaching of the holy gospel was extended by saint Gregory by the grace of Christ throughout the whole land of the Armenians as far as the Medes† and the Albanians, as he established bishops and clergy in every town and even organised monasteries.

† Garitte emends the meaningless *Klimēdōn* to *kai Mēdōn.*

§838. He established priests in every place and commanded that they worship the Lord God only, the creator of heaven and earth. And he increased the ministers[3] of the Lord's altar in every place,

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1. And ... it: *Ag, om.*

2. Blessings: *Ag*, admonition.

3. Ministers, *paštawneayk‘*: *Ag*, servants and ministers, *hypēretai kai leitourgoi.*

and established priests[4] for each altar in all the churches. Similarly he elevated bishops[5] to primacy over the peoples of the Lord, and commanded them to be faithful in their leadership and to oversee and illuminate the flock of Christ.*

* Tit. 1.9.

§839. Similarly he persuaded the king that from every province and region they should gather in all places numerous children in order to instruct them. So these barbarous, savage and wild† natives he took and cast into the furnace of instruction,† and by the heat of his spiritual love burnt away the impurity and rust of the putrid demons and vain cults. And he so detached them from their ancestral customs that they could say: "I have forgotten my people and the house of my father."*†

* Ps. 44.11.

† Wild: *čiwłabaroy.* For the meaning of *čiwł*, see Dowsett, "A Ghost," esp. 350-351, for this passage.

† The theme of a "furnace of instruction, *bovs vardapetut'ean,*" as Koriwn, 62, is elaborated in the *Teaching*, §638-639.

† From every province ... my father: as Koriwn, 62, of Maštoc' in Georgia.

Greek Vg: 169. Then the king and the holy one were zealous to convert the priests of the former idols to the Christian faith. They had been brought from Greece,† and were previously appointed to serve the temples. They were trained in Greek opinions, but overcome by the teaching of the holy one more than all the others they submitted to the Christian faith.

† Cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 14.

§840. From every place within the borders of Armenia and from the lands and provinces of his realm king Trdat commanded many young children to be introduced to the art of writing[6] and faithful

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4. Priests: *Ag*, one priest.

5. He, bishops: *Ag*, the archbishop, these.

6. Art of writing: *Ag*, to be trained, *gymnasai*.

teachers to be put in charge. Especially the families of the impure[7] pagan priests and their children were to be brought together in groups in suitable places, and an adequate stipend† paid them. These he divided into two groups, some being set to Syriac and others to Greek.† Thus in the twinkling of an eye these savage, idle and oafish peasants suddenly became acquainted with the prophets and familiar with the apostles and heirs to the gospel, and fully informed about all the traditions of God.†

† From every place ... stipend: as Koriwn, 70, of Maštoc‘ in Ałuank‘. Adequate stipend: *darman ṙočkac‘*. *Ṙočik* is an allowance for support, either in money or in kind; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 555. See §845 for the later careers of some of the pagan priests' children.

† He divided ... Greek: as Koriwn, 46, of Maštoc‘ and his pupils. Syriac, Greek: *Asori dprut‘iwn* [lit. "Syrian writing"], *Hellēn*. *Ag* renders: *en tē sura dialektō, en tē hellenikē*. Koriwn describes how the earliest translations of biblical texts into Armenian were made from Syriac, soon followed by revisions on the Greek. That occurred some eighty or ninety years after the time described here by Agathangelos.

† Thus ... God: as Koriwn, 70, of Maštoc‘ in Ałuank‘.

Greek Vg: Likewise he instructed the children of the priests in the holy scriptures.

Greek Vo: 129. In addition he instructed also the descendants of those once priests and granted them baptism in the Lord, incorporating them in the rank of disciples.

Arabic Va: 157. Then the king went off accompanied by saint Gregory to convert to the Christian religion the ministers of the idols who had come from Greek territory to minister to the temples of idols, and who were zealous for paganism. To these saint Gregory taught the faith, and more than all the [other] people they rapidly progressed in the Christian faith. The revered father, martyr and good pastor Gregory took first those who ministered to the temples, and taught them the holy scriptures.

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7. Impure: *Ag*, superstitious.

§841. [Gregory][8] then came to his former dwelling,† the capital[9]† of the province of Ayrarat, the city of Vałaršapat, where a beginning of the divine commands had first been made. There he had first observed and[10] set up the indicated sign of the holy cross; there the holy martyrs of God were buried, and he had set up in their martyria altars to God in these saints' resting-places; and he had built the indicated[11] place for the house of God which had been shown him in the vision and had earlier been prefigured to him, and where he had erected the church of Christ.[12] Just as in the places of the temples which he had earlier destroyed, so also in the city of Artašat and everywhere, in all lands and provinces he acted likewise, multiplying churches, establishing priests, imposing on everyone the sign of Christ,† so that all became [filled] with the holy Spirit.

† His former dwelling: as Koriwn, 46, of Maštoc' in Gołt'n.

† Capital: *ṙotastak*; used for the main town of a region, as in Koriwn, 60, of the main centre in Gołt'n where Maštoc' first preached. It is a rare word, not noted in the *NBHL*, but see Ačaṙean, *Hayerēn armatakan baṙaran*, s.v.

† Sign of Christ. This can mean the sign of the Cross, or baptism, which is probably the sense here. The rendering in *Ag*, *sēmeiochristos*, is the only attestation of the word in Lampe; it is also used in *Ag* §871 of Constantine's crown, where the sign of the cross is intended.

Greek Vg [After the list of bishops in *Vg* 170-172, for which see the end of this chapter]*: 173. The holy one himself, in Arayrat, Vałaršapat, Artaxata and Dvin continued to found episcopates, and designated those mentioned cities to his own throne; for in these cities the king of Greater Armenia, Tiridates, spent most time. He accomplished everything, and established everyone in the Christian faith. Leaving the pious Albios to fill his place in every respect, saint Gregory went around every region, continually overseeing the bishops and firmly settling them.*

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8. *Ag*, the archbishop.

9. Capital: *Ag*, *om*.

10. He ... and: *Ag*, *om*.

11. Indicated: *Ag*, enclosed.

12. And where ... Christ: *Ag*, *om*.

Arabic Va: 161. Saint Gregory built several bishop's residences in Arat [sic!] and Vałaršapat and Artašat and Dvin, and subordinated them to his own throne, and he visited those provinces we have mentioned. For a while he remained visiting them and Trdat, king of Greater Armenia.

Syriac Vs: 260. From there he went to Artašat, where was the pit in which he had previously been imprisoned. He built there a large and splendid church, and baptised them. 261. He travelled around in that region and baptised them, building churches and appointing bishops and priests and deacons. He taught them by night and day from the Old and the New [Testaments], and established in Armenia four hundred bishops, apart from priests and deacons.

§842. Thus throughout the whole land of Armenia, from end to end,† he extended his labour of preaching the gospel: from the city of Satala to the land of Xałtik‘, as far as Kałarǰik‘, to the very borders of the Massagetae,[13] to the gates of the Alans, to the borders of the Kaspk‘, to P‘aytakaran, the city of the Armenian kingdom. From the city of Amida to the city of Nisibis, speading his gospel preaching he passed along the borders of Syria, the land of Nor-Širakan and Korduk‘, to the inaccessible land of the Medes, to the house of the prince of Mahk‘r-tun, to Atrpatakan.[14]

† See Toumanoff, *Studies*, 458-460, for a study of this passage. Some of the places lay within Arsacid Armenia, some were outside its borders; for the uncertain loyalty of these border regions see the *Buzandaran*, IV 50 and V 8-19. The list is presented as an itinerary from the north-west of Armenia north-east across the Caucasus, back westwards along the Syrian border, ending in the south-west. For the places named see the following:

Satala: Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 489-490.

Xałtik‘: cf. §785, Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 501-502.

Kałarjik‘: Hewsen, *Geography*, 113-114.

Massagetae: Hewsen, *Geography*, 121-122.

Gates of the Alans, *drunk‘ Alanac‘*, more commonly known as the Darialan Pass: cf. §19, Hewsen, *Geography*, 112-113, *Atlas*, Map 27.

Kaspk‘: cf. §19, Hewsen, *Atlas*, Map 21.

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13. *Ag*: + Huns.

14. *Ag*: + which is called the land of fire, *pyroschōria*, in the Persian tongue.

P'aytakaran: Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 486-487, and Hewsen, *Atlas*, 58, *Geography*, 253-256.

Amida: Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 440.

Nisibis, *Mcbin*: Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 479.

Nor-Širakan: Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 483-484.

Korduk': cf. §795, Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 474-475.

Medes, Marac': Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 478.

Mahk'r-tun: Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 476-477.

Atrpatakan: cf. §203, Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 451.

Syriac Vs: 262. He travelled in all regions, instructing and baptising: the borders of Roman territory, Amida and Nisibis, and Persian territory as far as Xorasan, and to the border of the Alans, and to where the sun rises.

§843. All the time of his life,[15] summer and winter, day and night, intrepidly and without hesitation in his course of preaching the good word before the king and princes and all the heathen, without let or hindrance,[16] he bore[17] the name of Jesus the Saviour of all, and he furnished every soul with divine vesture and spiritual arms.[18]

§844. He afforded salvation to many prisoners and captives and people oppressed by tyrants, freeing them by the awesome power of Christ's glory.[19] And he tore up many unjust and illegal deeds.[20]† To many in mourning or disheartened, through his consoling teaching he gave the expectation of hope in the appearance of the glory of the great God and the Saviour of all, Jesus Christ. And he turned everyone to a state of true piety.[21]

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15. All the time of his life: *Ag, om*.

16. Without let or hindrance: *Ag*, fearlessly.

17. *Ag*: + on his mouth.

18. Furnished ... arms: *Ag*, he made every soul Christ-bearing.

19. *Ag*: + which dwelt in him.

20. Deeds: *Ag*, letters.

21. True piety, *astuacpaštut'iwn*: *Ag*, knowledge of God from their old tradition.

† Deeds: *murhaks*, as Koriwn, 80, *grammata* in *Ag*; cf. Pahlavi, *muhr*, "seal." These are documents acknowledging debts or obligations, or deeds bestowing property; for the latter sense see the *Buzandaran*, VI 10.

§845. Furthermore he established many and innumerable groups of monks† in both inhabited and uninhabited areas, in the populous plains and the caves and retreats of the mountains.† He took some of the pagan priests' children and brought them up in his own sight and under his own care, giving them instruction and raising them with spiritual care and fear. Those who were worthy of attaining the rank of bishop received ordination from him:† of these the first was named Albianos, who was made overseer[22] of the area of the Euphrates river. The second was Euthalius, who became shepherd of the wild regions of Basean, the third was Bassus, the fourth Movsēs, the fifth Eusebius, the sixth Yovhannēs, the seventh Agapus, the eighth Artit'ēs, the ninth Arsukēs, the tenth Antiochus, the eleventh Tirikēs, the twelfth Kiwrakos.[23] These are they who were chosen from among the pagan priests' children to become bishops of various areas and to increase the preaching of the gospel. And the names of the others, even if one wished, one would be unable to list.

† Monks: *vanakank'*, *monastai* in *Ag.* The history of early monasticism in Armenia has been confused by the anachronistic approach of the sources and some modern commentators; see now the detailed study by Garsoïan, "Introduction to the Problem of Early Armenian Monasticism." Less anachronistic is the description of Aristakēs as a solitary, §859.

† [§843-845] All the time ... mountains: as Koriwn, 78-80, of Maštoc' own activities; cf. the description of the patriarch Nersēs in the *Buzandaran*, IV 4.

† Bishops. These have been studied in Garitte, *Documents*, ch. 5, "Les noms propres de Vg," 193-245, insofar as they appear in the different versions of Agathangelos. Some are also mentioned in the *Buzandaran*, but that author does not refer to their supposed origin as children of pagan priests; cf. §840 above. In most cases the chronology makes identification with those supposedly consecrated by Gregory problematical.

The following appear in the *Buzandaran*: Albianos: see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 345-346; Movsēs: *Epic Histories*, 392; Artit'ēs: *Epic Histories*, 359; Tirikēs: *Epic Histories*, 415; Kiwrakos: *Epic Histories*, 383.

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22. Overseer, *verakac'u*, i.e. bishop: *Ag*, teacher.

23. The eleventh ... Kyrakos: *Ag om.*

Yovhannēs is not identical with the one in *Buzandaran*, see *Epic Histories*, 431.

The following are not attested by other Armenian sources: Euthalius, Bassus, Eusebius, Agapus, Arsukēs, Antiochus. See further Adontz/Garsoïan, 266-268, with the Armenian, Greek and Arabic texts, 87*-92*.

Greek Vg: See the end of this chapter for *Vg*'s list of bishops.

Arabic Va: See the end of this chapter for *Va*'s list of bishops.

§846. Albianos, an honest and God-fearing man, he left as bishop of the royal court.† He himself at frequent intervals went out to[24] deserted mountains, where he made himself an example.[25] He took some of the pupils from each hermitage,† and went to live in the mountains in solitude; in grottoes and caverns they made herbs their daily food. Thus they gave themselves over to austere mortification,† especially because they looked to the consolation of the apostolic sayings: "When I am weak for Christ, then am I strong,"* and: "It would be better to boast in weakness,[26] so that the strength of Christ may dwell in me."*

* II Cor. 12.10. * II Cor. 12.9.

† Albianos, bishop: *verakac'u*, see above §720, and §856 for the equivalent *tesuč' episkopos*.

† Hermitage: *menastan*, a place where solitaries lived; cf. *menaworastan*, with a similar meaning, in §861. See Garsoïan, "Introduction to the Problem," for such terms.

† Mortification: *vštakeac' tkarut'ean*, lit. "painful weakness," which leads to the following quotations from Paul based on the theme of *tkarut'iwn*.

Arabic Va: 161. But when he had completed all that and had strengthened all in the Christian religion, he appointed the holy Albios to the supervision of the province in all matters. And thus he secured all provinces and bishops all the time by teaching the faith in which they

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24. Went out to: *Ag*, spent time in.

25. *Ag*: + to all.

26. It would ... weakness: *Ag*, If I must boast, I shall boast in my weakness.

had been established. But after all this, he departed and lived in a cave called Cave of Manē, in the province of Daranałik', in order to find rest from the cares of the world; and he give himself over to fasting and prayer and weeping.

§847. Then there was no being drunk with wine, but growth in the spirit and a preparation of their hearts with spiritual songs to the glory and praise of God.* There was pursued the study of the sweet readings of the inspired scriptures. There encouragement was continuous in illuminating teaching with a view to progressive election to the goal of the crown bestowed by Christ.[27]* There was spiritual fervour in divine service.* There arose to benevolent God prayers of supplication and conciliatory requests[28] on behalf of life for all.

* Eph. 5.18-20. * Phil. 3.14. * Rom. 12.11.

§848. With these same spiritual practices he passed many days in desert places,† at the source of the Euphrates river, dwelling in grottoes and caverns in the ground† and on the summits of mountains, taking as example the great Elijah or the blessed Baptist, the virtuous John. Zealous for[29] good works, he led the same life of fortitude and devotion to God.

† [§846-848] At frequent intervals ... desert places: as Koriwn, 80-82, of Maštoc' in Armenia.

† Dwelling ... ground: as of the ascetic practices of Gind, *Buzandaran*, VI 16.

Greek Vo: 129. Then he went to the mountain from which derives the course of the Euphrates river, and he dwelt there with them all the time.

§849. And when from time to time he descended, he went around strengthening his pupils with the spirit of truth. He provided assistance in needful matters to all the churches by the grace of God without delay or distraction. He continually came down for support

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27. To the goal ... Christ: *Ag*, in the arena of Christ.

28. *Ag*: + to the Creator of all, and tears bringing peace.

29. Zealous for: *Ag*, he became an image of.

in all occurrences,[30] acting by the power of God. With unceasing mouth he spread the abundant and fertile rivers of his teaching in the hearts of his listeners.[31] This he did all his days, for himself and for the country.

Greek Vo: But on occasion, yielding to the requests of the bishops and monks in the town, he went down in order to support those weak in the sincere faith of our true God and Saviour Jesus Christ; then once more he returned to the mountain. His life was in caves and summits of mountains in imitation of the great prophet Elias and John the Baptist, the forerunner of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

§850. True teachers are accustomed to set their own virtue as a canon to their pupils, taking especial note of the [saying] concerning the Lord, the one and only wise God; for it says: "Jesus began to do and to teach."* He often took his pupils aside, and in his perfect person[32] served as example to those who lacked [perfection]—as when on Mount Tabor[33] he gave his blessed message;* or when on the same mountain he made the canonical prayer† while the disciples were sailing on Lake Tiberias.[34]* Again, in the days of unleaven bread on the festival of the law† he made the evening prayer three times on the Mount of Olives alone.* So it is undoubtedly obvious that the Lord of all did this not for himself but to teach the whole world as an example to all the obedient. Therefore he said: "Be awake and pray, lest you enter into temptation."*

* Acts 1.1. * Mt. 5.1-11, Lk. 6.20-49. * Jn. 6.15. * Mt. 26.39-44. * Mt. 26.41, Mk. 14.38, Lk. 22.46.

† Canonical, *kanonakan*, prayer on Tabor. This implies that Christ uttered the beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer on Tabor [cf. Mt. 5.1, 6.1, etc.], and that this is the mountain to which he retired according to Jn. 6.15.

† Festival of the law, *awrinakan tawn*, i.e. the Passover.

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30. Occurrences: *Ag*, places.

31. *Ag*: + and showed their hearts to be fertile and productive ground.

32. In his perfect, *anniazakan*, person: *Ag*, continuously.

33. Mount Tabor: *Ag*, the mountain.

34. While ... Tiberias: *Ag*, *om*.

§851. If earth-born races lack knowledge of the lightest skills, how much would one be considered ignorant of that skill which is only fulfilled among those who speak with God, of which the blessed Paul says all are ignorant?* Therefore he knows that the all-vivifying Spirit comes to one's support as intercessor through inarticulate groaning.[35]*

* I Cor. 14.36-38. * Rom. 8.26.

§852. Now when we hear that "Jesus began to do and to teach,"* then it must be understood that he did so in order to teach, and not that he might be rewarded. His intercession was for the holy ones,[36] while the intercession of the holy Spirit is to instruct us that we intercede for each other; and the intercession of the Only-begotten or of the holy Spirit is not be understood as [directed] to some higher person, because the divine is one in honour and not multiple. But the holy apostles received from the teaching of the truth, and first they provided profit for their own weak selves, and then they provided an example to the disciples; sometimes alone and sometimes gathered in groups, they exalted the glory of Christ.

* Acts 1.1.

§853. It is more profitable to separate oneself from all worldly distractions and concern oneself only with the service of God.[37] This the prophets did in the past, who in the mountains and deserts, in grottoes and caves in the rock,* pursued the service of divine religion.[38] Likewise all the fathers who succeeded them, guided by the apostolic canons, themselves bore the example of their predecessors. Hence this blessed man also bore the honour of these traditions and enjoined the same on all who approached him. Proceeding thus, he filled, comforted and fortified everyone in the

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35. This paragraph is abbreviated in *Ag*, which adds after the quotation from Paul, "knowing the activity of the life-giving Spirit which guides us to action and knowledge."

36. Then … holy ones: *Ag*, such should we be.

37. Only … God: *Ag*, tranquillity.

38. *Ag*: + according to the apostolic saying.

enjoyment of all[39] the divine treasures. On many occasions he was prompt at the same, and he continued to persevere therein.[40]†

* Heb. 11.38.

† [§849-853] Needful matters ... therein: as Koriwn, 82-86, of Maštoc‘ in Armenia.

§854. At that time our land of Armenia was blessed, envied and truly admired. Like Moses, who suddenly[41] became a teacher of the law to the Hebrew camp with all the ranks of the prophets, or like the outstanding[42] Paul with the entire group of the apostles, with the gospel of Christ that brings life to the world, so too did he come and appear and speak Armenian.[43]†

† At that time ... Armenian: as Koriwn, 56, concerning the beginning of writing in Armenian. Speak Armenian, *hayabarbaṙ hayerenaxaws*, lit. "in the Armenian language [and] speaking Armenian." In Koriwn this refers to the translation into Armenian of the Bible. The awkward adaptation by Agathangelos makes it appear that only now did Gregory speak Armenian!

§855. Then,[44] after going through every province, he chose for himself a spot for repose in desert places; and there he dwelt, illuminating everyone from the desert.

§856. He increased the number of overseeing† bishops[45] in all the Armenian provinces under his jurisdiction.[46]† Those who were ordained to episcopal rank[47] by him were more than four hundred bishops,† who were established as overseers for every region. But the

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39. Proceeding ...of all: *Ag*, he made all fertile and seemly in.

40. On many ...therein: *Ag*, arriving at certain places, he applied the same zeal with unsleeping eye.

41. Suddenly: *Ag, om.*

42. Outstanding: *Ag*, speaking most boldly.

43. With ... Armenian: *Ag*, the life-creating preaching of the gospel of Christ was experienced in the language of the Armenians.

44. *Ag*: + he taught everyone piety.

45. Increased ... bishops: *Ag*, established bishops.

46. Under his jurisdiction: *Ag, om.*

47. To episcopal rank: *Ag, om.*

ranks of priests or deacons or readers,† and the others who were in the Lord's service, were innumerable in their multitude.

† Overseeing, overseer: *tesuč'*: see §799 and 846 above.

† There is a parallel to this sentence in the *Buzandaran*, V 21, describing the patriarch Nersēs.

† Four hundred: a frequent expression in the Bible for a significant number.

† Readers: *anagnovs* in the Armenian text, i.e. the Greek *anagnōstēs*, as in *Ag*. For this minor order of clergy see Lampe, s.v.

§857. King Trdat made this covenant† with all the people who were under his rule, both great and small,[48] that all might have this firm pact with him: to obey the divine commandments ardently and frankly without doubting,[49] and to believe in the Creator with all their hearts. They all agreed to this, and were zealous to fulfil his command straightway.

† Covenant: *uxt*, as of the pact between church and people that is a key feature in the *History of Vardan* by Ełišē. See §754 above for details.

§858. The king frequently implored Gregory[50] to remain with him continuously in order to travel around with him, but he did not agree; he rather preferred to live in desert places, suppressing himself by fasts to prevent pride from rising up and trampling him down. He had made a rule for himself, that all the days of his life he would extend his fasts over forty days until the day of his death, when summoned by Christ to rest.†

† The last phrase is used of Gregory's death in the *Buzandaran*, III 2.

Greek Vg: 193. For a certain time the king led a quiet life, having near him the blessed Albios. Then he sought out again the martyr and patriarch Gregory. When in his desire he had discovered his whereabouts, he sent him a summons to join him. But he refused, saying: "O king, as long as one might have feared lest you turn away from the faith handed down to you, it was well I was with you. But now that by the

48. Both great and small: *Ag, om.*

49. Ardently ... doubting: *Ag, om.*

50. Gregory: *Ag*, the archbishop.

grace of Christ you have been perfected and have turned to piety, you have learned the good teachings of the Christians, and you are leading a most virtuous life, it is right for me to devote my time to myself, being afflicted by old age and weakness." 194. Although the king addressed many demanding words to him, he was unable to persuade him.

Greek Vo: 129. Frequently he was summoned by king Tiridates and the satraps and other princes to spend time with them and not to abandon those taught by him, but that they be strengthened continually by him. But he refused, saying: "You have our Lord Jesus Christ in your hearts, and he will continually watch over you." He preferred to live in solitary places in order not to give an opportunity for arrogance. Until the end he made the pattern of his asceticism to eat every forty days. His food was vegetables and pulses, and his drink water.

Arabic Va: 161. But when he had completed all that and had strengthened everyone in the Christian religion, he appointed the holy Albios to the supervision of the province in all matters. And thus he secured all provinces and bishops all the time by teaching the faith in which they had been established. But after all this, he departed and lived in a cave called Cave of Manē, in the province of Daranałik', in order to find rest from the cares of the world; and he gave himself over to fasting and prayer and weeping.

Arabic Va: 184. Now king Trdat did not cease examining the holy scriptures with the teaching of saint Gregory, and he asked him to set him on the way of truth. He also sent to [each] large town five men, and three in small towns, to visit the governors regarding the administration of the churches and the provision of necessities for their ministers. 185. When saint Gregory knew that king Trdat was taking care of the business of the churches in Greater Armenia, and he knew that [the people] had been strengthened in the Christian religion, he departed for a cave and dwelt there in tranquillity.

Syriac Vs: 263. Every so often he stole away and dwelt in the mountains as a solitary, fasting for forty days at a time, resembling Moses and Elias and John the Baptist. And he taught them to become monks and nuns [dyry' wdyryt'], and to deny the world. And he filled the land with

solitaries and believers. 264. Many times king Trdat begged him to remain with him, but he did not wish to.

Supplement:

The list of bishops in *Vg*: *170. Saint Gregory ordained bishops and sent them out through the whole land of Greater Armenia, to every place, and likewise priests. From the region of Sebaste there was a priest and abbot by the name of Eirenarchos. This Eirenarchos was very sober in dress and of praiseworthy behaviour, having also much training in the holy scriptures. At the discovery of the holy relics of the Forty [Martyrs of Sebaste] he was a deacon of the then bishop of Sebaste, a man adorned with grey hair. To the land of the Laz he sent Sophronius, also a Cappadocian priest who had come with the holy one, making him a bishop. To Albania [he sent] a pious man Thomas from the small city of Satala. For many had accompanied him, well versed in the divinely-inspired scriptures. 171. In the same fashion to Ingilene, Arzianene, greater Sophene, lesser Sophene, Hasteank', Siwnik', Arcrunik', and the land of Mokk' and Mardpetakan he dispatched bishops with governors, likewise in all jurisdictions and provinces. Kings and toparchs with great joy, each was zealous with the priests assigned in their own regions to raise churches and establish martyria. 172. He was zealous to appoint bishops in other [regions] of Greater Armenia as well: Albianos in the land of Bagravand and for those living along the river Arsanias. He had earlier been a priest of the idols, but after converting to the true faith and knowledge of God he was made worthy of the apostolic throne [by living] in the greatest virtue and piety. Euthalius he sent as bishop to Basean; Bassios to Kotayk'; Moses to Ekeleac' and Derjan; Eusebius to the region of Daranalik'; John to Karin; Agapios to Sper with the governor of the land the asparapet; Albion to the asparapetakan house which those of the Mamikoneans possessed. These always accompanied the king with their own chief, the great general and asparapet. Therefore saint Gregory appointed Albios to be permanently with the king and to fill his own region with continuous proclamation and teaching; for he was adorned with every branch of learning in Roman and Greek, possessing also the deepest initiation into the divinely-inspired scriptures; he was also bishop of Taron and Tayk'. Artithes he ordained bishop and sent to Malxaz with the prince of the Xorxorunik'; Arsoukas for Širak; Antiochus for the land of Korduk'; Tirikios for Vanand and*

Abeleank' and Gabeleank'; also Kyriakos for the land of Aršamunik'. Many others he promoted to be bishops or chorepiscopi of regions and clans, and he sent them out with authority to teach the word of truth.

Arabic Va: 158. Then saint Gregory, who had been created Catholicos of all Armenia, prepared bishops and sent them to the whole land of Armenia and to Georgia and to the province of the Drzqy't and to the Albanians. He took a Georgian man from among those who had come from Sebaste with him, by the name of Irenarchus, made him metropolitan, and sent him to appoint bishops over all Georgia. He was excellent in his way of life, pious, learned in the scriptures of the church; he had been a deacon and present when they found the bones of the Forty Martyrs, and was adorned with white hair. So he appointed him to that rank. And he sent to the region of the Abxaz Sophronius, who was a presbyter and had come from Cappadocia with saint Gregory; him he made a bishop and despatched. He sent to the region of the Albanians Thomas, a select [muxtar] man, who was from the small city of Satala. These were among those who had come with him and were learned in the holy scriptures. 159. Just as he had done before, he sent to the province of Ingilene, and to Arzianene, and to Greater Sophene and to Lesser Sophene, and to Asthianene, and to Siwnik', and to Mokk', and to Mardpetakan, and in the same way to every place that the governors allowed him; and he despatched bishops with the governors of the provinces. So those princes and magnates and governors of clans went to their own regions very joyfully with their own bishop who had been appointed for them and a group of priests, in order to establish churches in the names of the martyrs. 160. He hastened also to send bishops to the rest of the provinces of Armenia. He sent Albianus to the province of Bagrevand and to all the inhabitants of the borders of the Euphrates who previously served idols. Through his teaching he converted them all to the knowledge of God, for he was worthy to sit in the throne of the disciples. He sent Euthalius to the province of Basiane as bishop over them. And he sent Bassus as bishop over Byqwġwn. And he sent Moses as bishop over the province of Ekeletsene and Derzene. He despatched Eusebius for the province of Daranalik', and sent John as bishop over the province of Karanitis. He sent Agapios [Habib] as bishop over the province of Syspertis; he departed with the governor of the province called asbāt. He sent Albios as bishop over the province of Asparapetakan and Mamikonean, who was one of the royal household

and asbāt with their governor, who was called patrician. Now the blessed Gregory gave a command to bishop Albios and said to him: "Do not separate from the patrician, and fill the province with preaching." He did this because the bishop was learned in various disciplines, Roman and pagan [hnyfy], and was strong in the interpretation of the holy scriptures; and under his authority were Taron and Basean. He made Artithes a bishop and sent him to the province of Malxaz with the prince of the Xorxoruni. He made Arsukas a bishop and sent him to the province of Širak. Antiochus he also made a bishop, and sent him to the province of Korduk'. Tirikios too he made a bishop and sent to the province of Atrpatakan. He also made Kyriakos a bishop and sent him to the province of Aršamunik'. He also sent numerous bishops to the other provinces and clans, and likewise sent mighty preachers to teach the word of truth.

§859. While the king and his country were sorely wishing him to dwell amongst them and lamenting his absence, then they heard from some informed persons who told the king[1] that in time past, when Gregory was still in the flower of his youth and of military age,[2] he had been married and had had two sons.† The first of these was called Vrt'anēs, who led a secular life,[3]† though later he too was raised to priestly rank; and the second was Aristakēs, who from his childhood had been brought up in the service of God. He had entered the religious life of hermits[4] in the mountains,† and had undertaken many and various austerities according to the gospel with all diligence, and had given himself entirely to spiritual affairs[5]—to solitude, dwelling in the mountains, hunger and thirst and living off vegetables, being shut up without light,[6] wearing a hair shirt,[7] using the ground as a bed, often spending the sweet repose of night, the need of sleep, in wakeful[8] vigils on his feet. This he did for no little time. And finding others, he associated them with himself and instructed them in this same service of the gospel. Thus he willingly and bravely endured all trials which came upon him, and thereby became a luminary and renowned, and he was known and pleasing before God and all men.

† Gregory had been married. Gregory's wife is named Julitta [*Ioulitta*] in *Vg*. A Julitta was martyred under Diocletian; the water of the spring at her shrine was called Julitta's "milk;" see Van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow*, 51, based on Basil, *Homily* V 2. The account of Gregory's marriage in Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 80, is totally different; see the Introduction, 50-51. Julitta is not mentioned in any Armenian source as Gregory's wife. The Julitta in the "Martyrdom of Saint Julitta and her son, the holy youth Kiwrakos," was a pious widow from Iconium [modern Konya] martyred in 303; text in *Liakatar Vark'*, vol. I, 170-187.

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1. Who told the king: *Ag, om.*
2. And of military age, *zinuorut'eamb*: *Ag, om.*
3. Led a secular life: *Ag*, was prominent in life.
4. Religious life of hermits: *miaynakeac', i krawns*: *Ag, anachōrētēs kai askētēs.*
5. *Ag* + wearing only a tunic.
6. Without light: *Ag, om.*
7. Hair shirt: *Ag*, humble garments.
8. Wakeful: *i t'ot'ap'el akan*, or "in the twinkling of an eye:" *Ag*, with unsleeping eye.

† Led a secular life: *yašxarhakeac' keans*, lit. "life of the world." The same phrase is used in the *Buzandaran*, IV 3, of the earlier life of the patriarch Nersēs.

† Hermits: *miaynakeac'*, lit. "[those who] live alone, solitaries." Cf. above, §845-6, and see in general Garsoïan, "Introduction to the Problem," for such vocabulary and its context. *Ag* states that Aristakēs was an *anachōrētēs* and *askētēs*. For "living in the mountains" cf. note to §138 above.

† He had entered ... all men: as Koriwn, 34, of Maštoc'.

Greek Vg: The story of Gregory's sons is placed earlier in *Vg* 93-97. See the text at the end of this chapter.

Greek Vg: 194. Then he asked for his sons Aristakes and Vertanes to be brought. He gave permission, and through letters ordered them to present themselves. Then he dismissed the king with many prayers for him and all the people.

Arabic Va: 162. Now [word] came to several men concerning saint Gregory, that previously he had married a wife and had two sons. This was reported to king Trdat, that when he was young and in the king's service he had married and had two sons, the elder called Vrtanes, who was known by this name and who had also married. The name of the second was Aristakes; from his childhood he had chosen the monastic life and accepted humility in order to keep the precepts of the gospel in hunger and thirst. His food consisted only of vegetables, and he had shut himself up in a place where he did not see the light, with rough clothing and sleeping on the ground, continually for no little time. Later on people joined him and he accepted them as disciples. He taught them the holy gospel and the fight against the Enemy with joy and kindness of soul and the power of faith. And they shone out and were glorified in the sight of God and mankind.

Syriac Vs: 264. One day the nobles said to king Trdat: "If he does not wish to reside with you, let us send and bring his two sons, and they will be with you."

§860. Now when king Trdat heard all this, he straightway in haste and without delay sent three noble, famous and honourable men

with letters[9]† to bring the two sons of Gregory quickly to him. And those who were sent by the king regarding them were these: the first was called Artavazd, who was the commander-in-chief of all the army of Greater Armenia;† the second was called Tačat, prince of the province of Ašoc'k';† the third was called Dat, the royal herald.†

† Letters: *hrovartakk'*: as §798 above, *theia grammata* in *Ag*, *theios* in such a context being used for "royal."

† Artavazd: see note to §36 above for his appearance in Movsēs Xorenac'i and the position of "commander-in-chief, *sparapet* [*stratopedarchēs* in *Ag*]."

† Tačat was mentioned above, §121. Ašoc' is in northern Armenia; see Hewsen, *Atlas*, Map 55.

† Dat. This Dat is only mentioned in Agathangelos. Herald: *karapet*, the standard Armenian term for John the Baptist, the "forerunner, *prodromos*." *Ag* renders by the much rarer *promēnytēs*.

Greek Vg: 195. The king in great haste sent three of his magnates to the city of Caesarea to seek out the pious Aristakes and Vertanes, writing also to the holy Leontius, patriarch of Cappadocia.

Arabic Va: 163. When king Trdat heard this, he quickly sent three men from among his nobility with a letter to bring the sons of saint Gregory rapidly to him. The names of the messengers were: first, prince Artavazd, who was the chief patrician over the whole country of Armenia; second, Tačat governor of Ašoc'; and third, Dat, the minister of the king.

Syriac Vs: 265. When Trdat saw Gregory, they spoke to him about this, and he bade him send and fetch them. The king sent three of his nobles to Neocaesarea, and with them a letter of his, to bring Gregory's sons.

§861. So they arrived in the land of Cappadocia and found Vrt'anēs in the city of Caesarea, and the saintly Aristakēs dwelling in the desert in his own hermitage.[10]† But he did not agree to come out from the desert[11] until a gathering of many Christians had been

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9. *Ag*, royal letters.

10. In his own hermitage: *Ag*, as an anchorite.

11. From the desert: *Ag*, from his tranquillity, *hēsychia*.

held, and they persuaded him to leave there. "The task of God's labour," they said, "is better for you than this solitary living in the desert." Then they sent them[12] off. They returned to Armenia and presented to the king the two sons of Greory whom they had brought. The king received them, and in person went with them to seek saint Gregory, wherever he might find him. And they came and found him in the province of Daranałik',† on the mountain called the Caves of Manē,† in the wilderness.

† Hermitage: *menaworastan*, cf. *menastan* in §846 above. *Ag*: being an *anachōrētēs*; cf. §859.

† Daranałik': see §784 above.

† Caves of Manē. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 91, claims that Manē had been a companion of Rhipsime who had dwelt here in a cave, and that Gregory had come to the same cave on retiring from the world and died there; see further §891. For the site see Outtier and Thierry, 710-711.

Greek Vg: 173. Thereafter he dwelt in a cave called Marianat in the land of Daranalik', giving himself to prayer and tears and fasts.

Greek Vg: 192. When saint Gregory, the archbishop of Greater Armenia, saw that everyone was unanimously grounded in the Christian faith, he once more retired to the cave of Manē. And resuming there the same pattern of life, he remained in prayer and supplication.

Greek Vg: 196. When the magnates arrived in the city of Caesarea and had handed over the king's letters, they took some people with them to seek out the holy men. On finding the younger† brother Vrt'anes, they enquired about Aristakes. He said he was living a solitary life in the desert. When they discovered the place, he did not wish to leave it. 197. But very many of the citizens of Caesarea and the messengers from the holy patriarch with exhortation and emphatic argument took the holy Aristakes. Receiving the answers to the letters, the magnates set off with the holy men Aristakes and Vrt'anes.

† Younger: sic! All Armenian sources make Vrt'anēs the older brother.

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12. Them: *Ag*, him with his brother.

Arabic Va: 164. When they reached the city of Caesarea, they took his elder son, since he, Vert'anes, was in the city. But the holy Aristakes lived on the mountain as a solitary in a cell. They presented the king's letter to the holy archbishop Leontius, and he sent messengers with them to seek out the holy one. When they had found Vrt'anes, they had asked him about his brother Aristakes. He told them: "He is a monk, a solitary on the mountain." But when they came to that place, he did not agree to go down with them. 165. The patriarch's envoys had a long friendly conversation with him, requesting him to come down and saying: "It is better for you to come down in order to teach the word of God, more appropriate than sitting alone in this desert." Then he went down with them and they accompanied him to his country. When they arrived, they both stood in the king's presence, that is, the sons of saint Gregory. And the king received them, and went with them up the mountain called Cave of Manē to saint Gregory, who dwelt in a cave.

Syriac Vs: 266. When they arrived there, they found that one of his sons, Vrt'anes, had married a wife; and the other, Aristakes, had become a monk and was dwelling in the mountains as a solitary. 267. When they gave him the king's letter [sqr', i.e. sacra], he responded and said to them: "I am a sinner. I do not ask anything of my father or of the kingdom." 268. The nobles came to the bishop of Neocaesarea, informed him of the whole story, and begged him to go with them to him. 269. He took all his clerics with crowds [of people], and they went up the mountain to Aristakes. They urged him at length to go with them, and he said to him: 270. "Here you save only yourself, but go there and help your father in his teaching and you will educate the souls of many, because, as they say, your father is old." 271. Aristakes heeded them and went down with them, and also Vrt'anes and his wife and children, and the nobles with them. When the reached the city of Vałaršapat [and entered] the presence of king Trdat, he saw them and rejoiced greatly at them. 272. He put off the crown from his head, and went to seek Gregory their father. He found him in caves in the mountain.

§862. Then the blessed king Trdat begged saint Gregory that since he had not agreed to remain with him and go around,[13] and because

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13. And go around: *Ag, om.*

he loved the solitary life,[14] he would in return ordain and give him as bishop his saintly son Aristakēs, whom he had had brought.[15] He ordained him to the episcopacy in his place,[16] according to the appropriate saying: "The sons will take the place of the fathers, to be ruler over the land."*[17] He was even more successful in his teaching than his father during the latter's lifetime,[18] and after him he held his father's position and sat on the throne of the catholicos[19] of Greater Armenia.† Then the great Gregory himself went out around the places he had set in order and the provinces where he had taught in Armenia, to stimulate, strengthen, renew and confirm† everyone.[20]

* Ps. 44.17.

† Catholicos: see §800 for this term, and §14 above for the various titles ascribed to Gregory as chief bishop of Armenia. Here *Aa* has *at'oṙ kat'olikosut'ean*, the abstract noun, whereas *Ag* renders, "catholic throne [not, "throne of the catholicos"].

† Went out ... confirm: as Koriwn, 64, of Maštoc' in Armenia.

Greek Vg: 198. When they reached the province of Daranalik', the king heard the news and received them with much joy. On hearing about their manner of life, he sent to their saintly father, his own teacher and patriarch, summoning him to his own residence to install Aristakes on the apostolic throne in accordance with his father's rank. This Aristakes exceeded his father in virtuous conduct and teaching, and was continually addressing the people [...].

Arabic Va: Then king Trdat asked saint Gregory: "You did not join me in teaching the people, but preferred solitude. Therefore bestow the

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14. The solitary life: *Ag*, the desert and the monastic life.

15. Whom ... brought: *Ag, om.*

16. He ... place: *Ag*, which indeed he did.

17. *Ag*: Your sons were born in place of your fathers; you will establish them as rulers over all the land [= LXX].

18. During the latter's lifetime: *Ag, om.*

19. Sat ... catholicos, *nstaw yat'oṙ kat'olikosut'ean*: *Ag*, took the oars of the catholic [*katholikou*] throne.

20. *Ag*: + more in the faith.

laying on of hands [xeirotonia] on the head of Aristakes, so that he may take your place for us." He agreed to this, recited the episcopal prayer over him, and presented him to them in his place, as it is written: "In the place of your father will stand your sons." 166. His teaching was superior to the teaching of his father. Saint Gregory visited him while he was still alive, after his son had sat on his throne in the country of Greater Armenia.

Syriac Vs: 273. When he saw him he wept, and said to him [Lacuna of 6 lines; text from *Vk: "How much were you tormented in your tortures, and you flee from us? Behold, we have brought you your sons. But now give a command, come with us and make one of them catholicos, so that he may be over us after you." 274. He left and went with them, and made Aristakes catholicos, and he installed him in their presence*].

§863. And the God-loving king Trdat served piously like a disciple of the faith in Christ. He was God-fearing, and was informed and instructed in the divine commandments; he was loved for his acceptance and respect for the law, and was an example of goodness to the whole land. He was also very diligent in the reading of the divine scriptures,† for he was very expert in Greek secular literature and earthly wisdom; and he was especially versed in the science of philosophical reasoning, since he had studied it.

† He also ... scriptures: as Koriwn, 36, of Maštoc'. Trdat's virtues are also extolled in Movsēs Xorenac'i's "Lament," II 92, where he claims that Trdat and Gregory were equal in words and deeds, the contemplation of God and the ascetic life, but that the king's merit was greater in subjecting people [to the faith] by persuasive or forceful words. "For which reason I call him the leader on the road and the second father of our illumination." Since Agathangelos claims to have been commissioned by Trdat [cf. §13, 892], he has nothing to say of the latter's death. But according to Movsēs Xorenac'i, *ibid*, Trdat was murdered by Armenian princes unwilling to accept the rigorous Christian teaching of the king.

§864. So he received the grace of the heavenly gifts, whereby he was then illuminated. He was completely devoted to the requirements of the divine commandments, and in great willingness accommodated himself to them, and according to the rule of the gospel turned to the service of the benevolent God. Thenceforth he stripped off pagan vices and accepted the sign of the cross of

boasting, following the crucified Saviour of all in order to satisfy the demands of the commandments and to follow the crusading band of Christ's disciples.† He imposed upon himself fasts and vigils, and unceasing prayers and supplications to God with arms outstretched, and ever-flowing tears† for his country. Similarly he asked on his own behalf that his sins, committed in the earlier ignorance when he was a pagan, might not be remembered.

† Whereby ... disciples: as Koriwn, 36-38, of Maštoc'. See §57 for the "crusading band."

† Unceasing prayers ... tears: as Koriwn, 40, of Maštoc' in Gołt'n.

§865. With great solicitude he assisted the work of the teaching of the gospel, showing willing help and happily serving according to the gospel.† And thus, leading a reformed and sober and religious life, in all rectitude and in every good work he rendered ever more glorious his support in teaching.*

* II Tim. 3.16-17.

† With great ... gospel: as Koriwn, 62, describing Vasak of Siwnik'.

§866. The great archbishop,† the blessed Gregory, with his son Aristakēs and all his illustrious helpers, went around among all his disciples and strengthened them to stand firm in the commandment of truth.

† Archbishop: *ark'episkopos*, not applied to Gregory earlier in *Aa*. For his various titles see above §14.

Arabic Va: 166. And the blessed one went around the provinces to visit those to whom he had preached, and to confirm them in the faith with the man of God, king Trdat, so that they might be strengthened in their faith in Christ.

Supplement

The story of Gregory's sons in *Greek Vg: 93. Following these events, the woman who had entered into marriage with saint Gregory heard of what had recently happened. After marrying her husband she had borne from him two children, one called Aristakes and the other Vertanes. When saint Gregory at that time had refused to sacrifice to idols and had been*

put in bonds, subject to threats and punishment, he had sent her with the two children to the city of Caesarea to the relatives of her husband. 94. Wishing to bring up the two boys in accordance with their father's station, she supported herself and the boys from the monies they already possessed. Their relatives provided no little care for them, especially when they heard that he had undergone many torments for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. 95. On hearing what had recently happened, she left the boys in school, and with one maid and two servants came to the city of Vałaršapat. When she met her saintly husband, she informed him of the boys' prudence and upbringing, and how she had heard of Christ's visitation through the holy virgins and his own struggle. 96. Saint Gregory did not consent to live with her, especially in the absence of the boys, but he honoured her in addition to the appropriate support. When king Tiridates, the queen, and the king's sister became aware that Gregory's wife had arrived, they greeted her. 97. Saint Gregory said to the king: "I was made worthy to endure bonds for the sake of Christ the true God, and have been preserved up to now. She is no longer able to live with me; but let her have the ministration of the holy virgins, for as a Christian woman she is zealous for their chapels. And with the attendants who accompanied her, when they have received the seal and baptism, let them be appointed to praise the living God. Let them stay there until the coming of a priest to undertake the administration of the church, who will also make you [Christians] through holy baptism." The king and the royal ladies agreed with the holy one, honouring his pious wife whose name was Julitta.

§867. In those times Constantine, son of Constantius the king, reigned in Spain and Gaul. And he believed in God, in the creator of heaven and earth, and in his offspring, the Word, the only-begotten Son, and in the holy Spirit of his Godhead. He gathered to himself a multitude of his forces by the shore of the fearsome[1] Ocean sea,† and he made this covenant with them all, that everyone in unison should believe in the truth, and with a single divine voice they should fulfil the commandments and be a single nation glorifying the one God.†

† At that time. Note the problem of chronology, discussed in the Introduction, 48. But since a new episode begins here, which originally may have had little to do with the story of Aristakēs and his brother, one cannot correlate Constantine's accession to power with the preceding paragraph.

† Fearsome Ocean sea: the Atlantic; there is identical wording in the *Buzandaran*, IV 6.

† With a single ... God: as Koriwn, 64, of Maštoc' in Georgia.

Syriac Vs: 275. At that time Constantine the victorious king believed in God.

§868. Trusting in God he marched against the heathen[2] kings, and straightway suppressed them all, destroying them by the power of the divine cross[3]—the foul and impious kings Diocletian, and Marcianos, and Maximianos, and Licinius and Maxentius.† And all the offspring of these foul heathen kings he exterminated.

† Constantine's defeat of the "heathen kings" is described in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, IX 9-11, a work well known in Armenia. Book X describes the ensuing peace of the church, and the defeat of Licinius, Constantine's final rival. The legendary account in the *Life of Silvester* was known to Movsēs Xorenac'i, of which an abbreviated version was integrated into the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates by the end of the seventh century. For modern accounts of Constantine's rise to power see Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops*,

1. Fearsome: *Ag, om.*

2. Heathen, *het'anos*: *Ag*, Greek.

3. Cross: *Ag*, sign.

and Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*; note also the commentary and bibliography in Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. Cameron and Hall.

Syriac Vs: He killed the twelve rebel tyrants and exterminated the worshippers of idols. And the whole kingdom became his.

§869. He rebuilt the destroyed[4] churches, and restored the overthrown altars in the house of the Lord. He built chapels[5] for the martyrs,† and multiplied the glory of the commemorations of the blessed martyrs, and increased the honour of the priests of God, at once bestowing peace on the inhabitants of the earth and removing scandals, so that no one in any way might stumble from the path that leads to God. He destroyed the impure temples of the demons and obliterated them altogether, turning their ministers to flight. Honours and gifts he bestowed on those who kept to true piety and never abandoned its constancy. Therefore victory was given him over everyone, because he took for himself the sign of the victorious cross.

† Chapels: *arak'inarans*, lit. "places of virtuous ones." The term is only attested here according to the *NBHL*.

§870. The strict order of the commandment of truth—to stand firmly in the faith* which comes from the Lord—he spread throughout the world by his edicts,† terrifying [everyone] by his victorious power to cleave to the true piety of the light of faith in the Lord. Thus he expelled the hosts of darkness, and overcame them all by his power from above.[6] Those who agreed to become worshippers of the truth he honoured and treated as his friends. In this fashion he became powerful and strengthened his rule over mankind, calling[7] his kingdom a divinely-established kingdom. He became so powerful over all men that truly he was glorified.[8]

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4. Destroyed: *Ag, om.*
5. Chapels: *Ag*, martyria.
6. By his power form above: *Ag, om.*
7. Calling: *Ag*, governing [his kingdom] as.
8. He became … glorified: *Ag, om.*

* I Tim. 2.15.

† Edicts: *hrovartakk'*, as in §125, etc, rendered by *grammata* in *Ag*.

§871. In this way he so consolidated his victorious position,[9] that all the days of his life an angel appeared from heaven, continuously serving him;[10] each morning he took the crown [marked] with Christ's sign and put it on his head. So the blessed and most wonderful of all kings, Constantine, saw the heavenly angel in his service.† And he, the pious and all-victorious,[11] who established his kingdom in faith and confirmed the true faith in all churches, offered the purple of his royalty to Christ.

† The angel attending Constantine is also attested in the *Buzandaran*, III 10: at the council of Nicaea Jacob of Nisibis saw that the emperor wore a hair shirt under the imperial robe, and that he was served by an angel. Agathangelos does not mention it in his brief description of the council, §884-885 below. Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 89, mentions Jacob of Nisibis attending the council, but says nothing about the angel.

§872. At that time this news reached Greater Armenia, the royal court of the Arsacids, and Trdat king of Greater Armenia. When he heard this he rendered great glory to the Lord of all. With joy and great rejoicing he thanked him[12] who had made his holy name glorious throughout all the land.

Greek Vg: 174. When king Constantine heard in great Rome what had happened to king Tiridates and the miracles effected by Gregory the martyr, he made haste to send ambassadors with two aims: to receive the martyr and high-priest, and to persuade the king of Armenia to a pact and friendship.

For the text of Constantine's letter in *Vg* see the end of this chapter.

Arabic Va: 167. When the inhabitants of great Rome and its king, Constantine, heard about these things, and everything that had happened

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9. Consolidated his victorious position: *Ag*, advanced in being pleasing to God.

10. An angel … him: *Ag*, he was served by an angel.

11. And all-victorious: *Ag*, *om.*

12. Him: *Ag*, the Lord.

to king Trdat from the miracles which the holy martyr of Christ had performed, he rapidly sent priests to him summoning to him the holy archbishop Gregory with the king of Armenia Trdat. He requested that there should be peace between them, and that [Trdat] should inform him of the truth of the report and pay tribute [k̲araj] to him.

For the text of Constantine's letter in *Va* see the end of this chapter.

Syriac Vs: 276. When king Trdat heard, he rejoiced greatly.

§873. Then when the great king of Armenia, Trdat, heard this, he held council to consider that journey.† He made preparations and took with him the great archbishop Gregory, and his son Aristakēs and the other[13] bishop, Albianos;† and from the armed forces[14] the four most senior ranking of his court, who are called *bdeašx*:[15] the first, the border-guard[16] from the district of Nor Širakan; the second the border-guard from the district of Asorestan; the third from the district of Aruastan; the fourth from the district of the Massagetae;[17] the great prince of the house of Angł, and the *aspet* coronant, and the great *sparapet*, and the prince of Mokk‘, the prince of Siwnik', the prince of Řštunik‘, the prince of the house of the *Małxazdom*,[18] the prefect of Šahapivan,† and the prince master of the court.[19]† With many other magnates and with seventy thousand elite troops he marched from the province of Ayrarat, from the city of Vałaršapat, to pass into Greek territory.

† That journey: *Aa* does not specify the motive. See the Introduction, 23, for the differences between the versions.

† Albianos: called "the other bishop" because of his role at court; see §846 above.

† For this list of nobles and the titles of *bdeašx, aspet, coronant, małxaz*, see the notes to §795. For *sparapet* see §121. Nor-Širakan: see §842.

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13. The other: *Ag, om.*

14. The armed forces: *Ag*, the nobles around him.

15. Who are called *bdeašx*: *Ag, om.*

16. Border-guard, *sahmanakal*: *Ag, topokratōr.*

17. *Ag* + Huns; cf. §842.

18. Prince ... *Małxazdom, małxazut‘ean tun*: *Ag, apographōn archōn.*

19. Prince master of the court: *Ag, archōn spaskapeteōn.*

Asorestan: see §37. Aruastan: the region of Nisibis; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories, 449*. Massagetae: see §842; note the addition of "Huns" in *Ag*, as in §842. Angł: see §795; Mokk': §795; Siwnik': §795; Ṙštunik': §795. The precise location of Šahapivan in central Armenia is uncertain; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 488, Hewsen, *Atlas*, Map 62.

† Prince master of the court: *išxan spaskapetut'ean*. *Spaskapet* is found only here; Benveniste, "Remarques," interprets it "chef des serviteurs." Toumanoff, *Studies*, 162 n. 39, gives the English translation used here.

Greek Vg: 178. He accepted these royal letters, and with the greatest honour and respect received the messengers who had been sent. He ordered those due to go with him to Rome to be in readiness. Then, leaving the asparapet [...] and the land of Armenia, king Tiridates set out with joy and much enthusiasm for Daranalik' to saint Gregory. Entering his cave, he showed him the letter that had been sent. Since he had been invited by both the priests of Rome and king Tiridates, he was persuaded, and set out on the road with the king.

Arabic Va: 171. He received the king's letter with much joy and respect, and likewise his envoys. He immediately ordered to be provided what he wished to take with him, and left as his deputy in the country the asparapet to look after all the provinces of Armenia. Then king Trdat hastened with king Constantine's envoys to the province of Daranałik' to saint Gregory. He loudly summoned him out of his cave, and showed him the letter of king Constantine with the crowd. But the holy one did not wish to leave the cave, so the king's envoys who had come from Rome also begged him with king Trdat. Then he agreed to come with them and with king Trdat.

Syriac Vs: He took with him Gregory the archpriest, and seventy thousand nobles and troops, and went to Roman territory. They stayed in towns and villages.

§874. In great joy they passed many stages,† and met with honourable receptions and solicitous attention from every city they came to and from every noble they met. By land and by sea they

hastened on their way until they arrived in the land of the Italians, in the country of the Dalmatians,[20] in the royal capital of Rome.†

† In great joy ... stages: as Koriwn, 50, of Maštoc' returning to Armenia.

† Country of the Dalmatians, *erkirn Dalmatac'woc'*. There are several parallels to this curious use of "Dalmatia" for Italy; for the origin of the term see Pisani, quoted above in §189. In the New Testament *dalmaterēn* is used for Latin, Lk. 23.38, Jn. 19.10; in the *Teaching*, §689, it is one of the countries visited by the apostles, whereas Italy is not mentioned; but in the *Geography* it is distinguished from Italy, Hewsen, *Geography*, 47. In the *History of the Cross of Aparank'* [Grigor Narekac'i, *Matenagrut'iwnk'*, 277] it is situated "at the entrance, *skizbn,* to Italy."

Greek Vg: 179. Raising the royal standards and those of the accompanying toparchs and magnates, with trumpets sounding and with martial display as befits a traveling king, they were in all about ten thousand. For he was not willing to take more when travelling to a great king at his invitation, nor less because of his royal status. 180. In all the towns and villages people came to meet them with escorts. When they arrived at the city of Caesarea, they were greeted with much good cheer. Paying their respects to the holy patriarch Leontius, they explained the reason for their journey. For three days they were not allowed to proceed; but after three days they set out on their way to the Caesar of Rome, Constantine.

Arabic Va: 172. They made ready the royal flags, and the princes and governors prepared themselves. The trumpets sounded and drums rolled, and the army assembled for the journey with the king. Their number was ten thousand cavalry. He did not reckon it right to take with him more than that, because he was going to a greater king than himself in peace to be under his authority; nor was it appropriate for him to set out with fewer than these because of the honour of his kingdom. 173. The army set out on the journey, and in all the regions that were close by people came out to meet them in order to receive them with all necessities. When they reached the city of Caesarea they were filled with joy and happiness as if they had come home. They did obeisance to the holy Leontius and informed him of the reason for their journey, though that was not now

20. In the country of the Dalmatians: *Ag om.*

unknown to him. In Caesarea they remained for three days in accordance with all the requests. And after that they reached the Caesar king Constantine in Rome.

Syriac Vs: 277. When they heard news of them, the bishops and priests of the towns, the consuls ['wprk' sic! perhaps 'wpt', Greek hypatoi], leaders and rulers went out to meet them. They rejoiced in their company with the rest of the people. 278. They were blessed by the martyr of Christ, the hero lord Gregory catholicos; and they blessed king Trdat and praised God who had converted them to the path of truth.

§875. Straightway news of this was reported to the royal palace.† When Constantine, the king established by God and honourable holder of the throne, and the great patriarch,[21] archbishop of the imperial court[22] who was called Eusebius,† heard this, with great love they honoured them and went out to meet them. After mutual greetings they rejoiced. And when they had been some time in the capital† city,[23] then the pious emperor Constantine in amazement asked king Trdat: "How and in what manner did these miracles of God occur among you?"

† Straightway ... palace: as Koriwn, 66, of Maštoc' in Constantinople.

† Patriarch, archbishop: see note to §800. Of the imperial court: *ašxarhamut drann*; the same phrase is used by Movsēs Xorenac'i, III 57, to describe Atticus, patriarch of Constantinople, in the letter attributed to the Armenian patriarch Sahak. This is interpreted by *Ag* as meaning one who had access [*mut*] to court; no variant is attested in *Aa*. Eusebius: i.e. Eusebius of Nicomedia near Constantinople, who in 337 baptised the dying Constantine. He had great influence at court, and was bishop of Constantinople itself after Constantine's death, from 339 until his own death in 342. Because of his support for the Arians he was "forgotten" as the one who baptised the emperor, and that honour passed to Silvester, bishop of Rome from 314 to 335. There is certainly confusion, and many manuscripts of *Aa* change Eusebius to Silvester. See the Introduction for the differences between the versions, and for the importance of Silvester in

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21. Great patriarch: *Ag om.*

22. Of the imperial court: *Ag*, who always had access to his palace.

23. After ... city: *Ag*, they prepared provisions in the capital city so that they might rest from the length of the journey.

later Armenian tradition. For "Eusebius of Rome" in the context of the finding of the true Cross see Edwards, *Constantine and Christendom*, xxxviii-xl, 66, 77, 89.

† Capital: *tiezerakan*, lit. "universal," which *Ag* translates as *oikoumenikē*. *Oikoumenikos* can be used for the Pope of Rome, the Patriarch of Constantinople, or other patriarchs; see Lampe, s.v.

Greek Vg: 181. When they arrived in Italy they were met by patricians of Rome and consuls, who with a very large retinue escorted them into the city. Likewise king Constantine received them; and after embracing saint Gregory and king Tiridates, he invited them both to mount his own royal carriage. 182. First they conducted prayers at the holy church of the Apostle Peter, led by the patriarch of Rome, Eusebius. Then they traveled to the palace in the same fashion. Spending that day as a festival, on the morrow Gregory and Tiridates offered their presents to the Caesar. They had many royal horses, pearls and dishes and precious stones, also much clothing made of silk. They provided gifts not only to the king, but also to all the patricians and great princes, honouring each one from their own most precious local [products]. 183. Then the Caesar asked to learn what had happened.

Arabic Va: 174. When they reached the province of Italy, the patricians of Rome and the princes came out to meet them, and with much joy led them into the great city of Rome. King Constantine came to meet them outside the city; he embraced and greeted the holy Gregory and king Trdat, and ordered them to mount his royal carriage. 175. First they entered the church of Mar Peter in order to pray there; the head of Rome was the patriarch named Eusebius. Then they went to the palace, and celebrated that day as a festival. Gregory and king Trdat presented the gifts that they had with them, many horses, gems, precious stones, and so on, and fine silk brocades, not only to the king but also to the patricians and princes and all the leading men, to each one according to his rank. 176. Then king Constantine asked king Trdat to inform him about everything that had happened to him.

Syriac Vs: 279. When they reached Constantinople, king Constantine came out to meet them accompanied by myriads of people. He rejoiced at them, and they entered the city and rejoiced in each other like the joy of angels.

§876. Then he stood before the emperor and told him about all the blessings performed by God for him; nor was he ashamed to narrate the fearful punishment of his being in the form of an animal. And he told about the heroic endurance of the brave martyrs, and what deeds were done, and what was the nature of their strength.[24] Then he introduced to the emperor Gregory, whom he had brought with him,[25] saying: "This is the man through whom we came to know God's benevolence* and the long-suffering endurance of his wondrous miracles." At this the emperor Constantine was amazed; he humbled himself and fell before Gregory in order to be blessed by him. And with many splendid honours he exalted him as a confessor of Christ according to his merits.†

* Tit. 3.4.

† Confessor: see above §801.

Greek Vg: For Trdat's explanation in *Vg* see the end of this chapter.

Arabic Va: For Trdat's explanation in *Va* see the end of this chapter.

Syriac Vs: 280. Trdat expounded to Constantine the whole history of Gregory: how he had tortured him and cast him in a pit, how he had become a boar and how he had eaten grass with boars, and how lord Gregory had cured him; 281. how he had taught the whole of Armenia and the regions around it; and about the great miracles and healings and the amazing feats that God had performed through him. 282. King Constantine stood up and did obeisance to Gregory; and he praised God, "who allowed me to see you." They stayed with him for forty days in great joy.

§877. Similarly with great happiness he showed love for king Trdat as for a dear brother,[26] especially because of his recognition of God. Furthermore, he made an alliance with him,† holding their faith in the Lord Christ as an intermediary, so that they might surely

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24. And what ... strength: *Ag, om.*

25. Whom ... him: *Ag, om.*

26. *Ag*: + soulmate, *homopsychos*.

and for ever keep faithful[27] love between their kingdoms, and that he might confirm the Armenian king ever more and more in faith in the Trinity. Tiridates† then told about the martyrs of God, and how and in what way they had been martyred.[28]

† Alliance: *dašink', diathēkē* in *Ag*. This alliance is first mentioned in the *Buzandaran*, III 21, where it is called *uxt dašanc'*. Ełišē, *History of Vardan*, 72, calls it an *uxt*, but does not name Constantine. The alliance has a long history in Armenian historiography; for a brief survey of later developments see Thomson, "Constantine and Trdat."

† Trdat, Tiridates: *Trdat, Trdatios*. Note the variation; cf. §134.

Syriac Vs: 283. They sealed [a pact] that they would assist each other against their enemies. Thus they established a covenant for their sons that there would be between them the intention to support [dnqṭwn ('id'); perhaps emend to dnšṭwn] each other against their enemies; and their sons would establish that covenant for their sons, generation to generation, since they had given troth to each other.

§878. Then the emperor Constantine began to tell him about their honourable life.[29] For he had previously known, while they were still in their own land,[30] how pleasing their life had been and how they were of noble descent† through their families.[31] And he told of the powerful and victorious deeds provided him by God, so that he became victorious over all the enemies of the truth. He said: "Know, brother, that God reveals in every land his powerful mercy, so that all his creatures may know him and become his praisers in truth, 'because he seeks such worshippers'."*

* Jn. 4.23.

† Of noble descent. *Ag* even makes the martyrs related to Constantine, *suggenides autou*. According to Agathangelos, §138 and 167, only Rhipsime was of royal descent. For later traditions about their origin see Outtier and Thierry, "Histoire des saintes Hripsimiennes."

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27. And for ever, faithful: *Ag, om*.

28. Tiridates…martyred: *Ag, om*.

29. Their honourable life: *Ag*, the all-holy martyrs of God.

30. In their own land: *Ag*, in Rome, *Rōmia*.

31. Of noble … families: *Ag*, related to him, and had despised everything for Christ.

Greek Vg: 189. King Constantine himself told of his own earlier state, his vision and victory through the precious Cross.
Arabic Va: 182. Then the great king Constantine began to relate to him what had happened to himself, and he told him about the vision that had appeared in the sky and by which he had conquered his enemies.

§879. After this they were honoured with great solicitude and splendid pomp by the court and the churches and the noble princes of the city. They were lovingly favoured with great offerings and notable presents.[32]

Greek Vg: Receiving saint Gregory and the king of Greater Armenia in a kindly fashion, he kept them for several days. He provided many gifts for them: for the king, golden vessels and clothing and royal purple with golden cloth; for saint Gregory, gold and silver treasures for churches and martyrs;† likewise for the magnates, silver vessels and woven silk.

† Presumably "martyria" are intended.

Arabic Va: With joy he entertained saint Gregory and Trdat, and they stayed with him several days. He gave them splendid gifts and very many golden vessels for the churches. To Trdat he gave a royal purple garment woven with gold, and on his magnates also he bestowed silver vessels and red garments. 183. He obliged them to pay tribute [k̲araj].

§880. Then they took their leave from the Augusti arrayed in glorious purple[33] and the holy Catholicos,† being greeted by the church and the notable princes of the city .[34] Triumphant in every way, they mounted the imperial carriage decorated in gold, and with great éclat and much splendour they set out on their royal journey.

† Augusti arrayed in glorious purple: *ciranap'aŕ Awgostakank'*, as in Koriwn, 66. Catholicos: as of Leontius of Caesarea in §804 and of Gregory in §862. But this is all based on Koriwn.

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32. They ... presents: *Ag, om.*

33. Augusti ... purple: *Ag, ho theios Augustos.*

34. The holy ... city: *Ag,* being greeted by the archbishop of the church and the notable princes.

Greek Vg: 190. After confirming the previous arrangements with many pacts, with heavy heart he let them both depart in the same fashion as he had received them.

Arabic Va: Then he bade them farewell against his own will because of his love for them, and he sent [people] to the provinces in order to provide for their necessities, like the first time.

Syriac Vs: 284. King Constantine escorted them off, and they returned to their country.

§881. In all the cities they passed they were splendidly treated and greatly honoured according to their royal dignity, until they arrived† in Armenia, in the province of Ayrarat at the city of Vałaršapat and the saints' resting-places.†

† [§879-881] They were honoured ... they arrived: as Koriwn, 66-68, describing Maštoc' return from Constantinople.

† *Vg* and *Va* state that Trdat and Gregory returned to Armenia via the Pontus, which is probably the Propontis, called the "Pontic sea" in the *Geography*, Hewsen, 52, i.e. the Sea of Marmara. Cf. *Vg* at §149, which states that the nuns fled from Rome to Armenia via Phrygia.

Greek Vg: After crossing the great sea and reaching the land of Pontus, they arrived in Greater Armenia.

Arabic Va: After they had crossed the great sea, they reached the province of Pontus and entered the land of Armenia.

§882. They brought the gifts they had been given, gold and silver and precious vessels, as an offering for the service of the church of God; these they placed in the chapels of the holy martyrs.† Likewise they placed in the same resting-places of the saints the gold vessels of the emperor† that they had been given.[35] And they embellished ever more elaborately their churches.

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35. Likewise ... given: *Ag*, And the great Caesar had given golden vessels for the honour of the martyrs.

† Chapels: *tunk' nuirac'*, lit. "houses of offerings;" not noted in the *NBHL* as such. *Tun* can be used of a church; *nuēr* means "offering, oblation." *Ag* translates as *euktēria*, which is used of chapels or churches; see Lampe, s.v.

† Emperor: *kaysr*; cf. §867, where the verb *t'agaworeac'* [from *t'agawor*, "king"] is used for Constantine becoming emperor.

Greek Vg: Establishing a festival in all the churches, they appointed the commemoration in each diptych of the great king Constantine and of his Christ-loving mother Helen, so that in the holy mysteries of the undefiled communion their memory might be perpetually recorded. Celebrating festivals in each town and place, they divided among the churches the treasures brought from Rome.

Arabic Va: They celebrated a festival in all the churches, and he ordered king Constantine and his Christ-loving mother Helena to be commemorated in all his kingdom, and that they should be likewise commemorated in the mystery of the liturgy. In all the provinces he passed through, he celebrated a festival. When they came to the city of Vałaršapat, they distributed to the churches the treasures [keimēlia] they had brought with them from Rome.

§883. And the great Gregory began to travel around among his previous disciples, and he confirmed them in the true doctrine.

Supplement

Constantine's letter to king Trdat:

Greek Vg: 175. He wrote as follows: "Autocratic Caesar the pious Constantine to Tiridates king of Greater Armenia, greetings in the Lord. The blessings that were bestowed on our dear friends and brothers have been made known to us, and we are in great joy. We have heard about you, most noble one, how the virgins that fled from Diocletian from this our city of Rome you killed while still in error. And you tortured a certain holy man Gregory, but then were changed and altered from your proper form, and through the death sentence brought about by you, you were instructed to convert from your abominable cult. Receiving healing from him, you came to knowledge of the true God. That same martyr

Gregory you raised to the high-priesthood, rightly sending him to the holy Leontius in the [city] of Caesarea, who through letters sent us details of everything. 176. We were cast into awe and yearning, since we too were formerly in error; and afflicted with disease we obtained healing through the holy font, when the most saintly bishop Silvester brought us to the holy font of rebirth. We also sent our most pious and Christ-loving mother to the holy city of Jerusalem on a search for the honourable Cross. 177. So we are anxious to see you and to embrace you with saint Gregory. May your Fraternity desire to do this, so that our wish may be realised. With as many thousands as you wish of magnates and princes that attend you as guards, and with the attendants that seem appropriate to your Gentility, hasten to us. We have also sent agents for your expenses as you cross into our territories. Be well, dearest brother."

Arabic Va: 168. He wrote to him as follows: "From the omnipotent Caesar Augustus, victorious in the faith, Constantine, to Trdat king of Greater Armenia, peace to you. There has reached us [a report] of the benefits that you did to our friends and brethren and people. We greatly rejoiced at this, and at the favours that were given, and we shall remember this with humility and joy at all times. I have also heard that the blessed virgins who fled from our city away from king Diocletian the transgressor came to you, and that you killed them, since at that time you were irreligious [ṭ'ġy, lit. a tyrant], and you tortured the holy Gregory. After that your own human nature was changed and altered into the form of a pig, and you were made like one because of what you ordered concerning Gregory and his death. Through him you learned to convert from your paganism and worship of useless idols, and through him you were saved and have followed the true God. And the holy martyr by his endurance was made worthy, so you sent him to Caesarea to the holy Leontius, who informed us in his letter about all your affairs. 169. Now we rejoiced at this in awe, for indeed we also were like you previously, and we fell into tribulation, that is, the leprosy which I had. Then we received respite by holy baptism from the holy bishop Silvester, for it was he who renewed me by baptism. And I sent my blessed mother, the queen, a lover of Christ, to the holy city of God in order to seek out the wood of the honourable and venerable cross. 170. Then we desired to see you and to receive you with joy, you and saint Gregory. So I should like you, my brother, to do that promptly, so that our desire may be fulfilled in actuality, according to your amiability. Let thousands of your nobles,

patricians and princes accompany you, and all whom your humility may wish, and may your coming to us be speedy. I have already sent to all provinces on your journey [orders] that they should provide you with all necessities and requirements. Peace to you, my dear brother."

Trdat's exposition:

Greek Vg: 183. King Tiridates gave an account to him in both the Roman and Greek tongues, beginning from his being brought up by Licinius their general, and how after receiving his father's kingdom from the Romans he had taken possession of his patrimony; how he had expelled the king of the Persians with the assistance of the Romans, and on taking control of Greater Armenia had sacrificed to the useless gods; how Gregory had refused to participate in their abominable cult, and despite suffering many punishments had willingly remained in the Christian faith; and then on receiving the cruelest sentence of death, had been thrown in a pit, where other malefactors on being cast there had not survived a single hour, being numbed [psygomenoi] by the poisonous beasts in the pit. "But the one you see was preserved for fifteen years by Christ in order to save us. 184. Furthermore, while we were unaware that Rhipsime and Gaiane with other virgin women had fled to the land of Armenia, the Caesar Diocletian informed us. We seized them, and when they would not submit to us we put them to death. 185. Then we were punished through demons, and I, having been changed from human form, lived in wild places and reed beds, abandoning my own royal lodgings. And others ripped their clothing and tore their own flesh with their teeth. 186. But the true God, whom we recognised was not to be angered for ever but desired the salvation of the work of his hands, in dreams to my sister appeared through an angel of light. He said that the king and the others would not be healed in any other way save that you bring Gregory out of the pit. Everyone thought it unbelievable that he was alive, but when the same vision appeared a second time we were persuaded, and on extricating him, they brought him to us. 187. He through prayer and fasting and tears healed us in the name of the holy Trinity, conveying us from the error of idols to the true knowledge of God. This saint also overthrew our temples and worked many miracles: for when the idols were overturned, the demons rushed [on us] in battle, but the saint proved their weakness through the sign of the Cross. 188. Having been guided by him, we all pressed him to become our pastor.*

When he refused, an angel of light appeared to me, the unworthy one, and told me not to desist from my intention. And the angel appeared again to him, saying he was not to deny our summons. So having obtained this, we have come at your command." After saying this and much more, he made the great king Constantine astonished and all the senate of great Rome.

* Ps. 78.5.

Arabic Va: 176. King Trdat began to explain to him in the Roman tongue. He began from the patrician named Licinius who had brought him up in Rome, and how the king had taken him away from Rome, and how he had gone to encounter the Persians in war and had defeated the king of the Persians with his help, how he had left Rome and gained possession of the country of Armenia. [He explained how] he had offered sacrifices to the useless gods, and when Gregory had refused to join them in impure sacrifices, how he had endured cruel punishment for the sake of Christianity. How "I ordered him to suffer an unpleasant death in the pit in which those who deserved death were thrown, nor did they reach the bottom of it before they dried out [yibsw'] from the stench of the serpents in it, and could not survive even for one hour. But this Gregory, whom you see, remained in that pit for fifteen years, and Christ preserved him in it so that we might be saved through him. 177. Furthermore, women called Rhipsime and Gaiane and a group of virgin nuns with them fled from Diocletian, Caesar in Rome, and came to the country of Armenia, without my knowledge. But Caesar Diocletian sent [messengers] to me to inform me about them. Then we arrested them, but we were unable to turn them from their views, and we killed them. 178. After that they punished us through demons. I indeed lost the nature of a man and was turned into the likeness of a wild pig, and I pastured among reeds and fled from my rule; while my comrades tore their garments and ate their own flesh. 179. But the Lord, the true God whom we have recognised, did not abandon us for ever, but rescued the work of his hands. An angel of light appeared to my sister in her sleep, and said to her: 'You will have no respite, neither the king nor all his colleagues, unless you bring Gregory out of the pit.' But the princes did not believe her words. That vision, however, appeared several times. Finally they went and brought him out of the pit and returned to the country with him. 180. Then through his fasting with prayers and tears, the Lord Trinity had mercy upon us, and turned us from error to the knowledge of God.

We destroyed the temples of idols, and many wonders appeared to us at that time through saint Gregory; for while we were destroying the temples demons appeared to us and fought with us. But this holy one with the sign of his cross overcame their impotence. 181. We asked him, who had converted us to the knowledge of God, to become our shepherd, but he did not desire it. Then an angel of light appeared to me, the unworthy one, and said to me: 'Do not withdraw from the plan you have conceived.' Similarly he also appeared to him and said to him: 'Do not oppose Trdat.' And it was accomplished as we had wished." This and more he explained, and the great king Constantine was very amazed with all his princes.

XVIII. THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA AND GREGORY'S LAST DAYS. EPILOGUE

§884. After this the great emperor, the Augustus Constantine, commanded that all bishops should assemble in the city of Nicaea. Then the great king Trdat and the holy Catholicos† Gregory made preparations and dispatched Aristakēs.[1] He arrived at the great council[2] of Nicaea with all the bishops.† There were defined the acceptable tradition of faith for the whole world, and the illuminating ordinances, the defining canons, the divine sense of the will[3] of God the all-highest. There[4] the great emperor Constantine entered and confessed the faith and was crowned with blessing by the council. He left on earth renown, and acquired justification in heaven.

† Catholicos: see above, note to §880.

† Council of Nicaea. This is described at some length in the *Buzandaran*, III 10, in the chapter devoted to Jacob of Nisibis. It was at Nicaea that Jacob saw the angel serving Constantine, who was wearing a hair-shirt under his imperial robe; see further §871 above. The *Buzandaran* notes that 318 bishops participated, including Aristakēs. This is the traditional figure, with reference to Gen. 14.14, repeated in Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 90; see the note in Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i II*, ad loc.

Arabic Va: 186. Then letters from king Constantine Caesar went out to all bishops that they should assemble in the city of Nicaea. Saint Gregory with king Trdat sent bishops, and with them the blessed Aristakes, Gregory's son, and they went to the city of Nicaea where the great council [synodos] was held with all the bishops. There they set right the faith and drew up canons for the universal church by the power of the holy God, whose majesty is ineffable. Likewise king Constantine was present and confessed the faith; he received a crown blessed by the holy gathering, and left on earth a blessed record, while the people attained the kingdom of heaven.

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1. *Ag*: + the bishop.

2. Great council: *Ag*, city.

3. Illuminating...will: *Ag*, ordinances of the illuminating canons, given for the good pleasure.

4. There: *Ag*, in that council.

Syriac Vs: When the synod was assembled in the city of Nicaea, the catholicos Aristakes went, and they established there a definition of the faith and canons.

§885. The blessed Aristakēs returned and appeared in Armenia with the glorious faith and the confirmed† and pleasing-to-God Nicene canons. And he presented to the king and the holy Catholicos[5] the traditions he had brought. Then saint Gregory made additions to these illuminating canons,† making still more glorious his own see,[6] the land of Armenia, which with the assistance of king Trdat he illuminated all the days of his life.†

† Confirmed: *hastatun*. There is a parallel with Koriwn, 76, in that the latter describes the return of Koriwn, Eznik, and Łewond from Constantinople with "confirmed, *hastatun*," copies of the scriptures. *Hastatun* implies "accurate, authentic, reliable," and in the context of the scriptures indicates that the Greek texts from Byzantium, from which Sahak would revise the Armenian renderings, were more authoritative than the Syriac from which original translations had been made.

† Gregory's additions to the canons. The Armenian text of the 20 canons, with related documents and the list of bishops, is in the *Kanonagirk'*, I, 114-150; translation in Mercier, "Les canons des conciles;" Greek text in Tanner, *Decrees*, vol I, 5-19. For the authenticity of the Armenian canons see the discussion in Mardirossian, *Le livre des canons arméniens*, 510-514, and esp. 533-539: the variations from the Greek text reflect ideas of Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i of the early seventh century. Note that *Ag* omits the passage. This implies either that Gregory's "additions" were not agreeable to a Greek translator, or that the Armenian text did not yet include that statement. In the *V* recension the section is omitted altogether in *Vg* and *Vo*; *Va* says that Aristakēs brought back the canons, and only *Vs* implies that Gregory "completed," or "perfected," *šlm*, them. A different collection of 30 canons is attributed to Gregory in the *Kanonagirk'*, II 181-199. See further Thomson, "The Armenian Adaptation of the Nicene Canons." The Syriac version adds a comment on the Armenian practice of confession before communion; cf. Carr, "Penance among the Armenians," and Raes, "Les Rites de la Pénitence."

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5. Catholicos: *Ag*, archbishop.

6. Made additions … land: *Ag*, with this faith and the canons saint Gregory illuminated his see.

† A document "On Councils," attributed to the Catholicos Yovhannēs Imastasēr Awjnec'i and written in connection with the Council of Manazkert in 726, states that Gregory, in the twentieth year of his "catholicosate," summoned the first Armenian church council when his son Aristakēs returned from Nicaea with the canons of that council, *G.T'. I*, 220, *G.T'. II*, 473. The *Narratio* indicates that the council of Nicaea was held in the twentieth year after Gregory emerged from the pit; see the Introduction, 60. The text in *G.T'. I* refers to 51 canons of Nicaea, that in *G.T'. II* mentions 20. In his translation of this document van Esbroeck gives the number of canons brought by Aristakēs as 101, without explaining the source of that figure; see his "Die sogenannte Konziliengeschichte," with bibliography.

Arabic Va: The blessed Aristakes returned with splendid canons for the church and the correct faith which he had received from the large gathering. When he reached Armenia, he brought them to the king and the holy archbishop Gregory, and informed them about it. These give illumination and light to the church of God by the soundness of the canons. 187. Saint Gregory illuminated it [the church] in all Armenia. He and the king were [dedicated] to a single task.

Syriac Vs: 285. When the synod was ended, he returned from there, and gave to his father the definition of faith of Nicaea and the canons which had been laid down there. Gregory perfected all the canons that the holy synod of Nicaea had decreed, and handed them down to the Armenians. 286. And behold, from then up until today the Armenians observe these canons. They do not give communion to anyone until one of the priests has questioned him about his sins, and he has revealed them to him. If he is pure, he gives him communion; and if not, according to his sin he imposes a canon on him according to the canons that the synod of Nicaea established.

§886. Then after such deeds, with even more profound teaching the blessed Gregory began to compose many discourses, difficult of language, profound parables, easy to listen to, multi-faceted, composed by grace, set down from the sense and matter of the prophetic writings, full of all subtelties, and arranged and ordered in the truth of the evangelical faith. In these he set out many similes and examples from the transitory world, especially concerning the hope of the resurrection for the future life, so that they might be

intelligible and easily understood by the ignorant and those occupied with wordly affairs, in order to awaken and arouse and urge them on firmly to the promised good news.[7]†

† Gregory's writings. This is based on Koriwn, 78, where he describes homilies attributed to Maštoc'; see Thomson, *The Teaching II*, 56-58. It is possible that Agathangelos means here the collection of homilies known as the *Yačaxapatum*, rather than the *Teaching of Saint Gregory*.

§887. By the grace of God he fulfilled his preaching journeys and the oversight of the holy church without any failure. And he made all the greater effort to encourage everyone to good works.

§888. Day and night, with fasting and prayers and ardent requests and sublime words, he commended the divine commandments and urged them on everyone. "He gave no sleep to his eyes, no respite to his eyebrows, no rest to his temples,"* until he attained the rest[8] of the Lord.†

* Ps. 131.4.

† [§887-888] By the grace ... Lord: as Koriwn, 90, of Maštoc'. The same phrasing is used of the missionary activity of the young Grigoris in Virk' and Ałuank' in the *Buzandaran*, III 6.

Arabic Va: Throughout his whole life he shone out through fasting and prayer, and he asked that he might leave after him a memorial of peace.

§889. Thus with the king and all his pupils they spent all their time, day and night, in the reading of the scriptures. Adorned and profited thereby, they were an example of good works[9] to their studious companions.

§890. For in particular they had the commandments of the divinely-appointed messengers[10] admonishing them, of which the

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7. In order ... news: *Ag*, that they might be sober and confirmed through increasing eagerness and become steadfast.

8. Rest: *Ag*, summons.

9. Example of good works: *Ag*, good example.

10. Commandments ... messengers: *Ag*, divine precepts.

first orders: "Contemplate the law of the Lord day and night;"* and the second commands the same: "Attend to the readings, to consolation [and] to teaching. Do not neglect the grace which is in you.† Think on this and be prompt in the same, so that your progess may be clear to all. Take care for yourelf and your teaching, and persevere in the same. If you do this you will save yourself and those who hear you."*

* Ps. 1.2. * I Tim. 4.13-16.

† [§890-891] Thus ... you: as Koriwn, 76, of Sahak and Maštocʻ.

§891. So in this fashion he spent all the days of his life in acts like those of the Apostles, following the commands he had received, year by year[11] until his death.† And immersed in Christ's love he shone forth.

† Agathangelos does not mention Gregory's death or his burial. His tomb at Tʻordan [cf. §784] was already known to the *Buzandaraṇ*, III 2. Movsēs Xorenacʻi, II 91, attests to the tale of his death in the Caves of Manē, and his burial at Tʻordan at a much later time; see also the Syriac version of Agathangelos, *Vs*, for the discovery of Gregory's relics in the reign of Zeno. These and other traditions concerning Gregory's death and burial are discussed in van Esbroeck, "Témoignages littéraires."

Greek Vo: In this fashion, having carried out in every respect the apostolic task in an angelic life, he fell asleep--to the glory of God the Father and of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the worshipful and holy Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

Arabic Va: From his first days until the end of his life he fasted for periods of forty days,† *until Christ took him from this world and he was at rest.*

† Cf. above, §858.

Syriac Vs: See the end of this chapter for the Syriac version of Gregory's death and the discovery of his relics.

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11. Year by year: *Ag, om.*

EPILOGUE

§892. Now just as we received the command of your majesty, O most valiant of men,[12] Trdat, to write down all this as is suitable for a writer of chronicles, in that manner we composed our work, setting everything in order according to the model of Greek literary skill.†

† Literary skill: *čartarut'iwn,* which can also mean skill in building, *paideusis* in *Ag.* See §12 for Agathangelos's self-proclaimed literary abilities in Greek, and §13 for Trdat's commission.

Greek Vg: 199. All these things we have written down truthfully,

Arabic Va: 188. This I have written truthfully.

§893. We looked, as in a mirror,* at the divinely imposed and most elevated commandments given to the blessed Moses to write about everything that occurred and about the divine sayings[13] handed down,[14] and to preserve them for the ages to come.*

* I Cor. 13.12. * Deut. 31.19-24.

§894. Such commandments were also given to the other prophets: "Take a new and large sheet and write on it with the pen of an experienced scribe;"* and elsewhere: "Write this vision on a tablet and establish it in writing, so that he who reads may read freely."*

* Is. 8.1. * Hab. 2.2, Is. 30.8.

§895. David very distinctly indicates that the lot of the divinely given laws applies to all races: "Let this be written for another race;"* and: "The Lord will narrate in writing to the peoples."*

* Ps. 101.19. * Ps. 86.6.

§896. Christ, the Saviour of all, came and completed this with his gracious command: "Go to all races;"* and: "Let this gospel be

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12. Men: *Ag*, kings.

13. Sayings, *patgamk'*: *Ag*, commandments.

14. *Ag*: + through [his] narrative.

preached under heaven."* So this blessed one freely, with hopeful concern and profitably,[15] demonstrated his efforts according to the gospel.†

* Mt. 28.19. * Mt. 24.14, 26.13, Mk. 14.9.

† [§893-896] We looked ... gospel: as Koriwn, 54-56, of translations into Armenian. This blessed one: Gregory, not Maštoc‘ as in Koriwn!

§897. So, to bring to completion our narrative in the scriptural fashion, we have not set this in writing by deriving it from old tales, but from the spiritual deeds that we ourselves saw with our own eyes and were present at, and from the graceful teaching that we heard and of which we were servants* according to the precepts of the gospel. We did not make skillful yet false stories from our own words, but leaving aside the details and collecting from famous and knowledgeable [men], we have set down the main points in brief. This will be apparent, O king, not merely to us, but whenever this book is read before you.

* Lk. 1.2.

Greek Vg: having been present at some and an eyewitness, and accepting others by reliable report,

Arabic Va: For some [events] I was indeed present and an eye-witness, others I heard from trustworthy people,

§898. For we were not able to indicate precisely all that was done by the saints, but we have taken refuge in the easy and delightful and apostolic practice [of Luke],[16] who instead of making a detailed account of the many and various deeds of the saints, narrated the most important and most profitable points.*

* Cf. Lk.1.1-4.

§899. Hence we have made our narrative in similar fashion, not for the honour of God's elect who through his glorious[17] and life-

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15. Freely ... profitably: *Ag*, filled with hope in God, zealously.

16. *Ag*: of Luke.

17. Glorious: *Ag*, the boast of.

giving cross have become famous and honoured, but for an inspiring example to their spiritual offspring and those who in every race will be instructed through them,† according to the word of the spiritual singer who says: "Whatever he commanded our fathers to indicate to their sons that another race might know. The sons who are born will rise up and tell their own sons, so that they may place their hope in God and not forget God's deeds, and may seek his commandments, lest they become like their fathers."*†

* Ps. 77.5-8.

† [§897-899] So ... instructed through them: as Koriwn, 96-98, being his own epilogue.

† On the quotation from Ps. 77 see Calzolari, "La citation." This reflects on the entire conception of the *History* and its significance; see the Introduction, 105-107.

Greek Vg: so that those who follow us may receive them from us, and from the blessings and virtuous deeds that took place may train themselves in pious behaviour and become pleasing to the living God. For to him are due glory and power, to all ages of ages. Amen.

Arabic Va: so that you might imitate his virtues and perform noble deeds according to his achievements, so that you might inherit the land of joy, to dwell therein in accordance with the goodwill of Christ--to whom be glory, and to his Father, and to the holy Spirit for ever, Amen.

§900. So that they, speaking such words to the Creator, may say: "You are our Lord God;"* and he may say to them: "You are my people."[18]*

* Jer. 3.22. Jer. 7.23, 11.4, Hos. 2.24.

Gregory's death and the discovery of his relics in *Vs*:

287. Then it was revealed in a vision to Gregory that he should go to the region of Daranalik and go up one of the mountains, and that he should enshroud for burial Manē, the nun who was separated from her companions when Trdat killed them. Immediately he set out on the way.

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18. *Ag*: + to him glory for ever. Amen.

288. When he arrived there, he found a spring of water and a cave above it. She spoke from within the cave and said to him: "Do not come in to me, because I am a woman and am not covered with anything." 289. Gregory responded, saying: "I have been sent to you by God." She replied and said: "I too know that. But stay by the spring for three days, and then come to me." 290. She had lived there all that time, nourished by herbs; and through her prayers God had sent her that spring of water. 291. After three days Gregory entered the cave and found her dead. There was there a mat of hay, and he enshrouded her in it.

292. He dwelt there for thirty years. The king and his nobles sought him throughout the whole land, but did not find him; not even a rumour did they hear about him. He died there in that cave, and his soul was carried in triumph by angels, and he departed to the abode of joy. 293. There were shepherds far from there, and they saw rays of light shining and emanating from there, and a sweet odour blew through the air from that direction. 294. The shepherds went directly there, and found the body of the hero and martyr of Christ, lord Gregory. They buried it, and from it wafted a sweet odour as of spices. They were struck with great awe, and went and made these things known to the town of Daranali. 295. All the inhabitants of that town came out, and the shepherds went with them to that place. They sought Gregory's body, but did not find it. 296. God did this for the sake of the faith of the Armenians in him and their lack of instruction in the scriptures up to then, so that they would not worship his body instead of God; as he did in the time of Moses, chief of the prophets, who was buried [lit. whom (God) buried] on Mount Nebo, but he hid his tomb lest the sons of Israel worship it instead of God.

297. However, in the time of king Zeno there was an anchorite monk called Amra. It was revealed to him in a vision that he should go to the town of Daranali, to the mountain there. 298. "And you will find a cave in which there are rays of light. Bring out from there the body of Gregory the Armenian; take and bring it to Ekeleac', bury it there, and build a church over it." 299. So when he had gone and found it, he brought it to T'ordan with great pomp. The whole of Armenia rejoiced at that. They buried him beside his sons who were buried there, and built over it a splendid church.

300. Now in the times of king Heraclius he sent and captured the city, and built over it a splendid church, so that through the prayers of saint Gregory and of all his fellow-saints, and especially of the holy virgin mother of God, Mary, the Lord may pardon and forgive all the children of the holy church. Amen.

End of the History of Saint Gregory who instructed the Armenians.
May his prayer be with us. Amen

Bibliography

Abbreviations

AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
AVANT	*Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition*
BEH	*Banber Erevani Hamalsarani*
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DSALL	*Dutch Studies in Armenian Language and Literature*
ECTT	*Eastern Christian Texts in Translation*
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*
HA	*Handēs Amsorya*
HATS	*Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies*
HUAS	*Hebrew University Armenian Studies*
JA	*Journal asiatique*
JSAS	*Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
NBHL	*Nor Bařgirk' Haykazean Lezui*, ed. G. Awetikean, X. Siwrmēlean, M. Awgerean, 2 vols, Venice 1836, 1837; reprinted Erevan 1979, 1981.
OC	*Oriens Christianus*
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
PBH	*Patmabanasirakan Handes*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
REArm	*Revue des études arméniennes*
SC	*Sources chrétiennes*
SH	*Subsidia Hagiographica*
ST	*Studi e Testi*
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*
TTH	*Translated Texts for Historians*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen*
UPATS	*University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies*

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Agathangelos

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Indices

Biblical Citations and Allusions

References are to the paragraphs of the Armenian text [*Aa*], where they are noted by an asterisk [*] in the translation. Biblical citations in the Greek, Arabic and Syriac texts are not noted unless they differ from those in the Armenian. The numbering of verses and chapters follows that of the Armenian Bible.

Note that verbal parallels with the Bible may be more obvious in the Armenian text than in the English translation.

The Versions compared with the Armenian Aa

The Greek, Arabic and Syriac texts of the *V* recension do not always follow the same order of events as the Armenian *Aa* and its direct Greek translation *Ag*. Furthermore, the different editors of those texts divided them into sections that do not correspond either with each other or with the paragraphs of the Armenian. In order to facilitate comparison of the versions with the English translation, I have prepared the following table as a rough guide. That part of the Arabic *Va* edited by Ter-Łevondyan begins at *Aa* §48, but is not divided into sections; these begin in Marr's edition, at *Aa* §104.

For the editions of the Greek, Arabic and Syriac texts see the *Bibliography*.

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XVIII	**884-900**	199	129	186-188	284-300

Parallels with the text of Koriwn

Only verbatim parallels are listed here.

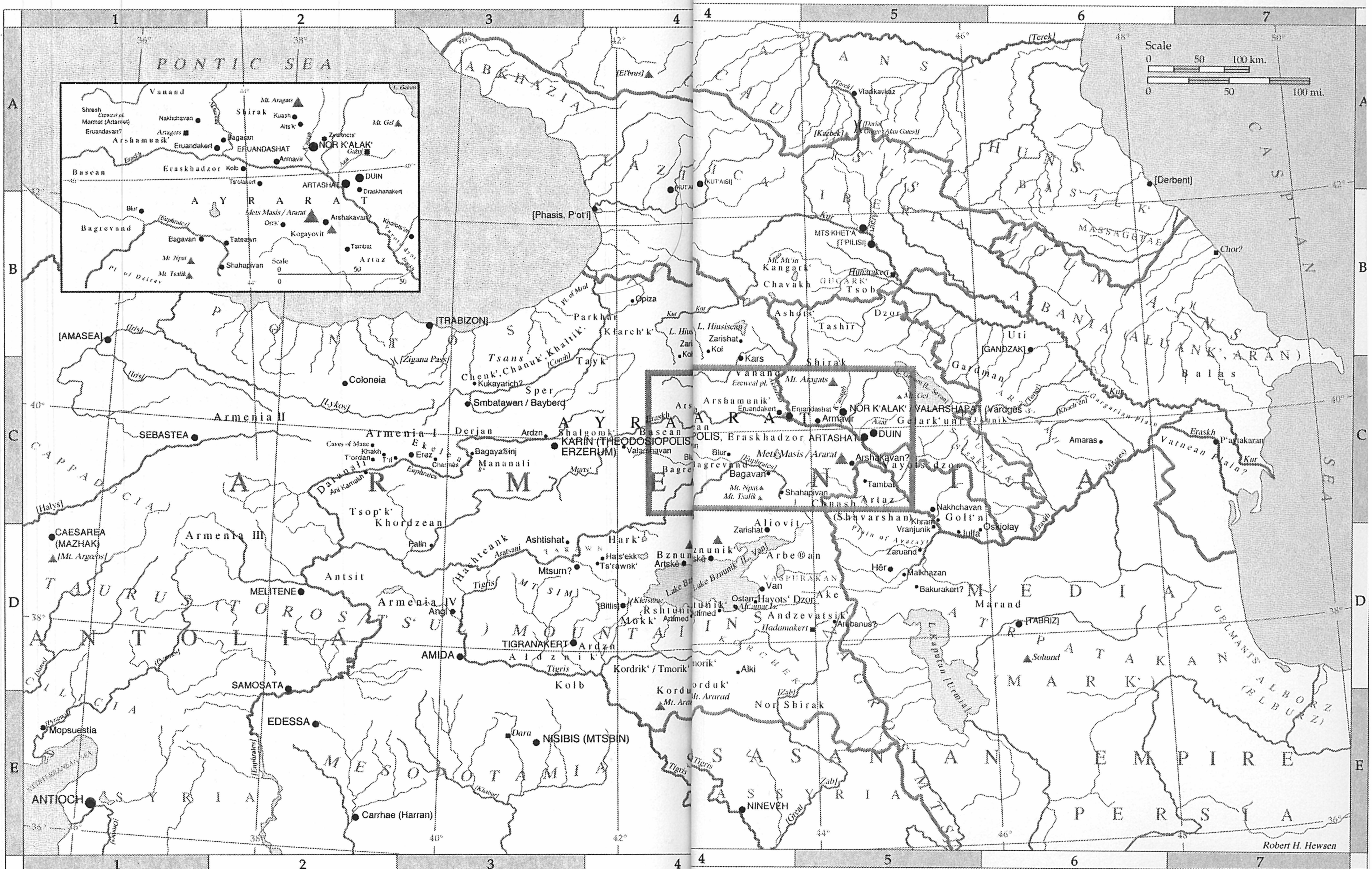
§14.	We have not composed ... gospel: Koriwn, 96-98, §28, explains the sources for his biography.
§15.	So that ... sea: Koriwn, 24, §1, describing his commission
§785.	Then the blessed one ... regions of [Xałtik‘]: Koriwn, 40, §5, Maštoc‘ preaches in Gołt‘n and the demons flee.
§787-788.	The king ... gospel: Koriwn, 70-72, §17, the king of the Ałuank‘ assists Maštoc‘.
§790.	To instruct ... army: Koriwn, 58, §12, Sahak and Maštoc‘ instruct the Armenian court.
§804.	And the nobles ... custom: Koriwn, 46, §7, Maštoc‘ visits Edessa and Amida.
§806.	He was honoured...people: Koriwn, 48, §8, Maštoc‘ is welcomed at Samosata.
§808.	Then ... Armenia: Koriwn, 50, §9, Maštoc‘ returns to Armenia from Samosata.
§818.	With all the servants of the gospel ... came: Koriwn, 60, §13, Maštoc‘ goes to Gołt‘n with servants of the Gospel.
§819.	The king ... town: Koriwn, 54, §9, Maštoc‘ returns to meet king Vṙamšapuh.
§827.	They spread ... love: Koriwn, 70, §16, Maštoc‘ at Nor K‘ałak‘.
	According ... pious: Koriwn, 60, §13, Maštoc‘ in Gołt‘n.
§828.	His skill ... request: Koriwn, 62, §15, Maštoc‘ in Georgia.
§829-830.	With the companions ... right hand: Koriwn, 48, §8, Maštoc‘ invents an Armenian script.
§834.	With psalms ... torches: Koriwn, 94, §26, the funeral of Maštoc‘.
§837.	Then ... blessings: Koriwn, 68, §16, Maštoc‘ returns from Constantinople.
	He journeyed ... Armenia: Koriwn, 60, §14, Maštoc‘ in Siwnik‘.
§839.	From every province ... my father: Koriwn, 62, §15, Maštoc‘ in Georgia.
§840.	From every place ... stipend; thus ... God: Koriwn, 70, §17, Maštoc‘ in Ałuank‘.
	He divided ... Greek: Koriwn, 46, §7, Maštoc‘ and his pupils.
§841.	His former dwelling: Koriwn, 46, §7, Maštoc‘ in Gołt‘n.
§843-845.	All the time ... mountains: Koriwn, 78-80, §21-22, Maštoc‘ own activities.
§846-848.	At frequent intervals ... desert places: Koriwn, 80-82, §22, Maštoc‘ in Armenia.

§848.	Zealous for good works: Koriwn, 32, §2, Koriwn's introduction.
§849-853	Needful matters…therein: Koriwn, 82-86, §22, Maštoc‘ in Armenia.
§854.	At that time … Armenian: Koriwn, 56, §11, the beginning of writing in Armenian.
§859.	He had entered … all men: Koriwn, 34, §4, of Maštoc‘.
§862.	Went out … confirm: Koriwn, 64, §16, Maštoc‘ in Armenia.
§863.	He also … scriptures: Koriwn, 36, §3, of Maštoc‘.
§864.	Whereby … disciples: Koriwn, 36-38, §3-4, of Maštoc‘.
	Unceasing prayers … tears: Koriwn, 40, §5, Maštoc‘ in Gołt‘n.
§865.	With great … gospel: Koriwn, 62, §14, Vasak of Siwnik‘.
§867.	With a single … God: Koriwn, 64, §15, Maštoc‘ in Georgia.
§874.	In great joy … stages: Koriwn, 50, §9, Maštoc‘ returns to Armenia.
§875.	Straightway … palace: Koriwn, 66, §16, Maštoc‘ in Constantinople.
§879-881.	They were honoured … they arrived: Koriwn, 66-68, §16, Maštoc‘ returns from Constantinople.
§886.	Then … news: Koriwn, 78, §20, the compositions of Maštoc‘.
§887-888.	By the grace … Lord: Koriwn, 90, §25, of Maštoc‘.
§889-890.	Thus … you: Koriwn, 76, §19, of Sahak and Maštoc‘.
§893-896.	We looked … gospel: Koriwn, 54-56, §11, of translations into Armenian.
§897-899.	So … instructed through them: Koriwn, 96-98, §28, Koriwn's own epilogue.

General Index

This Index includes names in the Introduction and the Armenian, Greek, Arabic and Syriac texts, but not those cited in the notes. Names that introduce biblical quotations are not listed. Variant spellings of Armenian words in Greek, Arabic, and Syriac are noted only where they are significantly changed.

Map of Armenia



MAP OF ARMENIA